

ARS AVLICA
OR
The Courtiers
Arte.

Principis est virtus maxima nosse
suos. MAR.

Et

Quis dicitur placuisse sibi.
ultima Latine est. HON.

at, at

Felice chipso.

LONDON,
Printed by Meleb. Seadward
for Edward Blount.
1607.

ATLICA

THE

...

...





TO THE RIGHT
HONOURABLE

and most Noble

Brothers;

The Lord WILLIAM,
Earle of Penbrook,

And

Lo. PHILIP, Earle of
Montgomery.



Right Honour-
able and Wor-
thie LORDS,

This small
Treatise hapning to speake
English at this time; how I
know not, but by a kinde of
fate, should seeme destined

A 4 to

THE EPISTLE.

to your protection : who
from your owne practise in
Court can cleerliest iudge
of his arte. You, whose indi-
viduall and innated worths,
besides my particular dutie,
challenge this so equall Pa-
tronage; and binde me

the most humbly de-

voted to your
honors.



ED. BLOUNT.

Da Dio si prega per appoggio fermo:
Che, fra gl'huomini già non c'è più schermo.

A Fiori, à fumo, à sogno ed ombra vana,
Molt' assomigliano lo nostro stato;
Anzi io per me, non trono cosa humana,
Che l' histrion, e' l palco; cui dar à lato
Il mondo rio, & mente nostra insana.
Theatro è quello, & questa per il fato,
'E fatta histrion', cangiando à mille modi
Habit, & persona; dispreggi & lodi,
Per che ti chieggio,

O gran Chorago de i celesti chori,
Chi co'l cenno sopra i più bassi palchi (ori,
Da legge; à chi, hor, chi tardo è d'uscir fu-
Per far mostra à te, & tuoi gran siniscalchi,
Quanto tutti possono pur migliori,
Et secondo dai mercè, ò fai diffalchi.

Fà, ch'io tal mi comporti in questa scena;
Ch' al mondo, nò che da te io seampi pena,
Fatto che deggio.

Poluere minuta.

G. G.

LOREN-

A 5

De la nature et des propriétés
des plantes qui croissent en France.

Les plantes qui croissent en France
sont de plusieurs sortes. Lesunes
sont utiles à l'homme, les autres
sont nuisibles. Lesunes sont
communes, les autres sont rares.

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communes, les autres sont rares.



LORENZO DVCCI
to the Noble
Courtiers.



Orthy gentle-
men, I cannot
conceine what
more besitting
and fruitfull
Present may be offered vnto
you, than that which with an
apparent breuitie conteineth
in it the meanes how to com-
passe and obtaine that End,
which by seruice is desired.
To

To the noble Courtiers.

To which purpose hauing finished this present Discourse, by me named The Arte of the Court, in perfection according to the module of my conceits : I giue it, and as I coniecture, most iustly dedicate the same vnto you : not, because either by vertue of a long experience, or of an exact iudgment, I make profession to be a Master in this Arte, but to manifest, that by the North guide-star of methodicall knowlege, a man may furrow the deepest seas of unknown discipline; and haply far from the dangerous rocks of reasonable censures, arriue at the Port of true and commendable

To the noble Courtiers.

*mendable doctrine. If then
my minde herein misgiue me
not, my desired reward shall
be the profit you shall make of
it: but if any man thinke o-
therwise, the way lies open, no
lesse to the triall of his owne
knowledge, than (if he can)
to the correction of other
mens labours. Fare you*

well. From the Castle

of Ferrara the 29

of Ianuarie

1601.

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The Preface.



IT is my intent to make triall if by the waie of certeine principles, there may anie precepts be established, for the instruction and institution of a woorthy Courtier: Not to shew what vertues belong vnto him, but, presupposing him alreadie to haue that habit, which the Court requireth, to teach him in what maner he should carry himselfe to run the course of his seruice with happinesse.

The Preface.

nesse. And because multiplicitie of words is toilsome to the writer, and breedeth confusion in the Readers mind, I wil make my proofs with that breuitie, which may exclude obscuritie in the vnderstanding, and yet lie very plaine vnto indifferent capacities.

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him*

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Of the helpe which may be drawen from

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shall finde himselfe slenderly re-
spectod of his Prince.*

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ARS AVLICA,
OR
The Courtiers Arte.

CHAP. I.

*What should be the Courtiers
end or scope.*



ALL Humane *The object of human actions*
actions have
for their end
& scope some
good or benefite
of him who is
the actour of

them. The chiefest good *the human*
principally thirsted after by man is *human*
happinesse; For this, all actions
are done; which either medi-
ately or immediatly regard the
same; so that every Agent pro-
perlie worketh for his owne
benefit. True it is, that many
times in the archievement of

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ARS AVLICA,
OR
The Courtiers Arte.

CHAP. I.

*What should be the Courtiers
end or scope.*



ALL Humane actions haue for their end & scope some good or benefite of him who is the actour of

*The object
of human
actions*

them. The chiefest good principally thirsted after by man is *the highest* *honour* *happinesse*: For this, all actions are done; which either mediately or immediarly regard the same; so that euery Agent properly worketh for his owne benefite. True it is, that many times in the archieument of

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some

Cause of Society some desired good being very difficult, the helpe of another is expedient, his owne forces not bastant or sufficient. For this cause, in the beginning, were Societies instituted; in the which if euery one should worke for his owne good, without respecting that of his fellow; doubtlesse, they should be vaine and fruitlesse. Wherefore in these, it is behooffull not to worke for proper commoditie, but for publike benefit; for that in this maner euery one as interessed, doe agree to effect and facillize the obtaining of that good which is desired. The end then of euery Society is the common good of those who are comprehended therein.

The Object of Society

Society in its Relation

The respect and relation of him that commandeth, towards him that serueth, I dare not call

call it a *Socsetie* ; for such is the inequality of the termes , that by many wise men the servant is ^{serv. e} held the Commanders instru- ^{master} ment ; whereby it followeth, that among them there is no other end , than the *good* of the master, knowing it to be cleere, that we can not distinguish the end of the instrument, from that of the *agent* which mooves the same. Heere-hence it followeth further , that the *Servant* oweth all his actions (as a servant) vnto his *Master*, and the Master nothing vnto his servant ; and that therefore receiving any benefit from the commander or Master , he is by far more bound , than by serving he can oblige the other ; since in serving he doth but the actions of an instrument, the which are to be acknowledged from

the *agent*, but in receiuing of a benefit, he hath the same from another as from an affected cause : From the same principle many excellent and important consequences might be deduced, the which notwithstanding I will reserue, as for a place more fit, in that part of *actiue Philosophie*, which conteineth precepts of *Oeconomicall* prudence.

In the meane time wee say, That not entreating heere of *naturall* or *violent seruitude*, but of *voluntary* and *electiue seruice*, it seemeth, and not without reason, it may pretend to haue in some sort the qualitie and nature of a *Societie*, and that by consequence we may attribute vnto it for the *end* thereof a kinde of communion of *good*. And certainly that heerein the
seruice

service due to the Master is most considerable, may be gathered by what already hath beene sayd, as also by weying or iudging of their mutuall bonds : for, if any demand What is the seruants duetie or bond, there is none I thinke that will not answer, To serue his lord and master : But on the other side seeking what is the Masters dutie, we shall finde it, To benefite the seruant according to his merit. So that by this mutuall obligation, these two termes *Master* and *Servant* are vnited together in a societie; the which as hath already been sayd, hath for the end a common profit. This granted, it seemeth that the Masters scope or end is, the *seruants* benefite, and that of the *Servant*, the *Masters service*, since their du-

ties haue these references. And if it be so , there groweth a doubt how it may be verified, that *euery one worketh for his peculiar profit* , or that this is the naturall inclination of euery man, and of all working things. But it is answered, that the *ends* are of two sorts, either desired or intended by themselves , or by accident and caused by another. Whereby it followeth, that two, which between themselves seeme contrary , may desire one thing without repugnancy , as in this present case it happeneth. For the seruant desireth for himselfe, and worketh for his proper benefit, mooued vnto it by a naturall instinct: but by accident , and for this cause desireth and worketh in the seruice of his Lord , since that from hence finallie hee draweth

draweth the profit and commodity which he longeth after; whereby there is no contradiction at all, that the servant should haue for his end his proper benefit, and withall the seruice of his Master.

Yet this doth not wholly resolve the propounded doubt, because it seemeth, that if the true and principall end of the servant be his owne proper commoditie, we might say that his dutie were to worke, not for his Masters seruice, but for his owne profit: and therefore this is by euery man with great reason reiected. Wherefore wee say that a servant may two wayes be considered, either as he is *sociable*, or as he is *associated*: if as *sociable*, without doubt the end of his actions is his proper benefit: if as *associated*

red, by the bond of duty which bindes him, his *End* is the seruice of his Master. Or if in other termes, we wil say the same thing, that is, that the seruant hath two *Ends* or *Respects*, one which moueth him to contract this societie, and this out of all question and resolutely is his proper benefit; the other is the end of the societie, and this doubtlesse is the commoditie or seruice of the master, though not disbanded or disioyned from the profit of the seruant, by the participation that this habitude or respect of societie hath betweene the Master and the seruant, the which, as it is said, endeth alwaies in a common profit.

To conclude then, and to reserve that vnto another place, which heere (as not so proper)

we

we will but briefly touch. We say, That the end for the which the *Courtier* voluntarilie submits his necke vnto the yoke of seruitude, is his owne profit, for the which as his end principally intended, he both labourereth and endureth much. But his end, as a *Courtier*, obliged ^{his end} in societie and duetie of seruitude, is the seruice of his Lord, the which he vseth as a meanes vnto the former and more principall, which is his proper benefit, with the intercourse of fauour which followeth the actual service. For the *Courtier* first of all longeth after his owne profit; but not able otherwise to compasse the same than by the loue and fauour of his Prince, he propoundeth his seruice, and diligently working therein, obteineth his fauour,

which breedeth his owne profit and commoditie aboue all other things by him desired.

* It appeareth then that the ends or scopes that the *Courtier* hath are three, that is, his *proper interest*, and this is that which chiefly he endeouureth: next, the *favour of the Prince*, as the cause of his first end: and then, *the seruice of the Prince*, as the efficient cause of that favour. But because these things haue in themselves some difficulties, a larger declaration is necessary.

C H A P. II.

*A declaration of the fore-
said ends.*

P*roper interest, Seruice, and the Princes favour* are, as it is said, the *Courtiers* ends, of the

the which his *proper interest* is the first, and by it selfe desired; the others by accident and as-meanes. Now what is meant by this terme *favour*, is so manifest, that it needs no other explication: but those of *proper interest*, and the *Princes service*, are not so well vnderstood, both the one & the other terme conteining many things, vnto the which (it may be) the end and dutie of a *Courtier* doth not extend.

Let vs first then consider the *Service*, and say thus; There is no doubt, but the Prince hath diuers and many sorts of men which serue him; as the souldiers in the war, the Magistrates in time of peace, and those which in his house perform his necessary businesse. If all then (as it is most plaine) are bound
 to

*Service of
 prince
 whatlibet*

to serue him, all their *ends* shall be the seruice of the Prince: and so if he be a *Courtier* whose end is the Princes seruice, all those aboue named, and particularly such which are in actuall seruice should be *Courtiers*: but it seemeth not only a new terme, but withall, contrarie to common sense and the true signification of the name of a *Courtier*, to comprehend therein, the *Souldiers*, the *Iudges* and other *Magistrates*; wherefore we can not say they are all *Courtiers* which serue, but only some of them, amongst whom wee can not denie those to be held for such which priuately serue him. So as it is fit to consider in the Prince two persons, one publike, which makes him to be a Prince; the other private, by the which we suppose him to be the

the head of a familie, as by the other (as a Prince) hee is head of a Kingdome or Commonwealth. Those then who serve him as a Prince, that is, in the actions belonging to the publike benefit, were neuer called by the name of *Courtiers*; but those only who serve him priuatly, and are comprehended in his familie or Court. From this principle, wee draw that which at the first we sought for, that is, what things this service conteineth; for that, from it are wholly excluded all ciuill ends and publike actions; on the other part are received all those which the domestical businesse or that of the family requireth, in such sort, that as the Magistrate, in another place, shall be by vs termed the Princes instrument as a publike person, *who are courtiers*

son, so is the *Courtier* his instrument, as the head and father of a familie; so that all works belonging to the charge of householdrie are embraced and contained in his end as a *Courtier*: and therefore when we say his end to be the service of the Prince, it is vnderstood (as wee haue sayd) of all that which exceeds not the limits of household affaires.

proper interest
what it is Let vs now come to declare what is vnderstood by *proper interest*. It can not be doubted that this terme *interest* doth not containe all kinde of humane good, though to this large scope of signification, it seemeth the common vse thereof hath extended it, but we ought with reason to aduert the exclusion of that good which cannot be obtained from another: because

cause in vain should the *Courtier* serue the Prince to that end, to obtaine from him that thing, which neither he nor any other could impart vnto him : as for example are the vertues, which in vaine are expected from any other, than from our owne well ordered and proper nature : so that this good excluded, it seemeth (and in this likewise the vulgar opinion doth agree) that for two things principally hee doth take vpon him and vndergo this seruitude ; for profit and for honour. Some serue for profit, not esteeming of honour, as the mercenaries ; others for honour only, as the noble, either by birth or greatnesse of minde and spirit ; others both for the one and the other.

virtues excluded

The courtiers wages

Well, let it be so that every man serueth for these two either

*profit
what it is*

*honour
what it is
in general*

ther ioyntly or seuerally. Profit particularly includeth in it riches, the which are in abundance of necessaries for our life; as money, lands, cattell, mouables, furniture for houses, and such like. But by honour, is not vnderstood at all that which followeth the actions or vertuous qualities, since that this good (as alreadie hath beene sayd) dependeth on our proper election and facultie, and may without others helpe be obtained; for I thinke none of opinion, that freely to vse prudence, fortitude, iustice or magnanimitie, it is necessary to enter into the Court of Princes; but there rather to obtaine degrees of power and dignitie, which commonly are called honours; or be it that worthily by meanes of vertuous actions they are attributed

buted as honor giuen in reward
 of vertue; or because, as they
 say, *Honour is the opinion held of*
another's vertue: by meanes
 whereof they obtaine in the
 world an opinion of merit, or
 because he that possesseth it, is
 honoured. So that the honours *Court*
which are the Courtiers end, *Honour*
are degrees, dignities, power, *what, in*
wealth & the reputation, which *particular*
spring from them; and not the
whole compasse of honour. For
 since the actions of vertue may
 as wel be vsed out of the Court,
 as hath beene declared, the ho-
 nours answerable thereunto
 may also without being a
 Courtier be in like
 maner obtai-
 ned.

CHAP. III.

*Of the choice of the Prince
to be serued.*

O*Vt* of these things may easilie be drawn a rule which the *Courtier* is to obserue in the election of the Prince to whom he is to dedicate his seruice; the which requireth great consideration, for the inconueniences which otherwise may follow: because if in this an error be committed, it is cleerely impossible euer to obtaine the end for which he serues; whereby vaine is the labor he shall afterwards vndertake in seruice, false his hope of reward, vnprofitable his repentance, and the amendment very dangerous: for that vnto the easie change of Masters followeth a conceit of lightnesse, & a difficulty not happely

happely to be new placed, by reason of the impediments opposed, either by the authoritie and power of the abandoned Prince, or by the foresaid opinion of instabilitie, or hard to be contented, or of arrogancie according as the cause of the change may be variably reported or beleueed: the which happening by reason of the Princes discharge or casting off, can not bee for the most part without a great staine or blot vnto the *Courtier*. Wherefore it is very necessary to be carefull that this election should bee wisely made, and it shalbe such, when the Prince which is chosen may giue cause vnto the *Courtier* of that end, which principally he pretendeth aboue all others. But to make a perfect iudgement heerein, wee must consider

consider the qualitie of the intended end, and the ability and proportion which the Prince beareth to the same.

The *Courtiers* end hath already beene said to be his *proper commoditie*, that is, his *profit* and *honour*. And because there is no limitation in desired ends, which are (as they say) infinite whereupon the Merchant coveteth an infinite gaine, and the Captaine a most singular victory, so no lesse doth the *Courtier* desire a profit without end and honour in the highest degree that may be obtained.

The Princes abilities consisteth in *power* and *will*, they had wont to ioine thereunto *knowledge*; but in this affaire it hath so little part, that without error it may be let passe. Wee must then examine his *ability* and his *willing-*

Willingnes, diligently beholding what proportion they holde with the forsaide *ends*, and if we know them to haue proportion vpon an effectiue cause, most assuredly it shall bee good to make choice of such a Prince: and to speake more plainly, I say, that if propounding any profit, there shall be any Prince that both can and will impart the same vnto the *Courtier*, he is the most worthie whom hee should serue. In like sort may wee reason of the other *end*, which is *honor*, aduertizing, that the *Courtier* either by himselfe, or by meanes of some other who haue greater and more inward knowledge than he, may learne if these two principals, that is, *Power* and *Will* to benefit, be truly in the Prince, whose *power* may easilie bee vnderstood

stood, as a thing for the most part commonly knowen, and must be considered not onely immediatly, as proper in himselfe, but mediately and by other helps; for that, if by himselfe he can not performe much, but by his authority be able, so that by meanes of him it shalbe lawfull for the *Courtier* to hope for his desired end, we may iustly say that he is able: but if neither by himselfe nor by meanes of another he be able, in vaine is the seruice that shall be vnder taken with him.

The *Will* is yet harder to be knowen, the which by nature is ouershadowed with many vaile howbeit, it is discovered and vnmaskt by due obseruation of the effects: for if the Prince be accustomed to bee beneficiall and seemeth inclined thereunto,

to,

to, we may suppose an habit of
 beneficence, which wanting, he
 is assuredly incaple of honour-
 able service. But in this parti-
 cular we must consider a diuifi-
 on, because some Princes are
 not of a beneficent and liberall
 nature towards their seruants;
 others are, but much more with
 their seruants, to whom by me-
 rit of their service they thinke
 themselves in some sort bound.
 The illiberall niggardly and ab-
 solute not beneficiall, are vn-
 worthie of life, since they liue
 vnprofitably in this humane so-
 cietie, wherein nothing is requi-
 red more necessarilie, than be-
 neficence and liberalitie; such
 Princes towards their seruants
 are not woorthily enabled for
 the service of the *Courtier* in-
 structed in this arte; wherefore
 for the most part they are ser-
 ued

ued with mercenarie people without spirit or feeling of honour, and to conclude, worthy of them.

Amongst those who are beneficiall towards their seruants, there are some, who sparingly and with hardnesse grant their benefits and fauours, not because they doe not loue the good of their seruants, but doubting lest hauing profited them, they should abuse their fauours, or suspecting lest shewing themselves too gentle, they should grow too confident and secure. With these kinde of Princes a man may with commendations contract seruice, but how he is to proceed to obtaine these fauours shall be fully declared in his place. Some other there are, who by benigntie of nature most easily incline

cline to benefit and to doe fa-
uors, who notwithstanding ve-
ry consideratly and with a iust
proportion dispencc and di-
uide the same; and these are
those who aboue all the rest de-
serue the seruice of the most
honourable and accomplished
Courtiers: wherfore vpon these
doth fall the wise election, as of
Princes or Lords, from whose
magnanimitie, by meanes of
seruice, there is in all reason
hope to obtaine their desired
profit and reputation.

CHAP. III.

*That the Courtier must conceale
the endeuor of his proper com-
moditie vnder the apparent de-
sire of the Princes seruice.*

BVt to returne to the Cour-
tiers end, and to speake of
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some things wortbie speciall
consideration; you are to vnderstand, that the end, by it
owne nature, hath a desire in it
selfe to moue and induce an o-
peration or working; wherfore
labouring in fauour thereof,
those are iudged prouident and
wise; who are seene to take a
good way proportionate and
apt for the obtaining and com-
passing of the same. But in the
particular of a *Courtier* this rule
faileth, since it is not sufficient
that the actions be wise and dis-
creet, which manifestly appeare
to tend to his end, that is, his
proper interest; but those also
which seeme to belong to the
profit and seruice of the Prince:
and the reason is, because the
Courtier is not to expect benef-
fit, without the loue and fauor
of the Prince, which shall neether
be

be obtained if he discover his interested service, since such kinde of *Courtiers* are esteemed as mercenaries, and more self-friends than their Masters; who supposing that the Societie which they holde with their servant should tend to their profit, take it for an iniurie vnto them, whilest perverting the order, another end is preferred, which by accident (in their opinion) should bee desired. This part was excellently wel understood of a great *Courtier* of whom manie and verie considerable obseruations are read in *Cornelius Tacitus*, who causeth *Seneca* thus to speake : *Fulgorens bonorum à se nunquam prolatum, excubias ac labores, ut unum ex militibus pro incolumitate Imperatoris, malle* : Hee neuer layd before him bright shining honours,

nours, but wisht rather watchings and labours as one of the common souldiers for the Emperours safetie. And *Tigillinus* *Idem* 14. saith: *Non se ut Burrhum diuersas spes, sed solum incolumitatem Neronis spectare*: Hee had not diuers hopes like *Burrhus*, but respected the onely health of *Nero*. This man in his time was likewise in great fauour, and by his arte surpass and overcame all his concurrents. In summe, this aduertisement is so necessary, that taking any other course, all hope of ever being fortunate in Court is cut off: wherefore he must not only make profession in words, but with effects make perfect shew to haue no other interest than the absolute seruice of his lord: which to do we will now teach the meanes.

The scope of the *Courtier* is
his

his *proper interest*, that of the Prince, is his profit. Amongst the actions which the *Courtier* can performe, some respect only his proper interest, some the service and commoditie of the Prince, and some are common to both. Of those respecting the proper interest, some are contrary to the Princes service, some not: likewise, of those respecting the Princes profit, some are repugnant and contrarie to the Courtiers good, others not. Now, seeking in what maner by meanes of our labour, wee may conceale the desire of our proper interest, with an apparent will of the Princes service; we say, first it is necessary that we who wholly abstaine from those actions which behold our proper commoditie to the preiudice of the

C 3 Prince.

Prince. It is also necessarie (although it should not be so great an error to do the contrarie) to beware to doe any thing which immediatly respecteth our proper good. And of all this the reason is cleere enough by what hath beene sayd before.

Those actions now which are common to the *end*, both of the one & the other, are not greatly hurtfull nor profitable to the *Courtiers* intention: but those actions are profitable which regard the Princes commoditie, and especially those which seem to containe any danger or damage to the servant. Amongst those of greatest importance to maske the appetite of our proper commoditie, are those which are wrought in benefit of the Prince with great danger and detriment of things most deere.

deere. But we must note heere,
 that the *end* of a *Courtier* be-
 ing double, that is, of *profit* and
reputation; in that of honor or
 reputation we must have speci-
 all consideration and regard,
 because it shalbe a motion most
 commendable in a *Courtier* (as
 a *Courtier*) to despise or refuse
 some honour or dignitie to
 continue in the service of his
 Prince; and in this sort to suffer
 a damage, is a thing to be desi-
 red; but withall it should not be
 commendable, if for any re-
 spect of his Lord he should suf-
 fer any blot or staine in his re-
 putation: for that is a thing
 which amongst men ought to
 be preferred (as commonly it
 is) yea before life it selfe. But
 in that which belongeth to the
 profit and good service of the
 Prince, he may securely make.

any losse, the which by how much either in aduventure or in effect it shall be greater, by so much the more doth it answer to courtly wisdom. And because vnder the name of profit I meane the goods which may be ginen or taken, and in deed all are termed actions of this kinde (vertue and honour excepted) as when for the honor of his Prince he spendeth liberally; when hee aduventureth friends and kindred; when hee leaueth his owne pleasures, and many times his necessary commodities of liuing or of healthfull liuing, as meat, rest, sleepe and such like, so farre as nature will suffer, to preferre the seruice and execute his Princes commandement, and aboue all, when he exposeth his life to danger for the honour, safetie, and

and pleasure of his Prince.

Cornelius Tacitus an excellent Master of *Courtiers*, with an example of *Seianus*, most plainly teacheth all that hitherto hath beene spoken to this purpose: because whilest *Tiberius* was yet in doubt how farre hee might haue confidence in *Seianus*, against whom manie things were muttered: *Fortè*, Ann. 4.
inquit, illis diebus oblatum Caesaris
anceps periculum auxit vanarum
moris, praeuitq; ipsi materiam,
cur amicitiae constantiaq; Seiani
magis fideret. By chance, sayth he, in those dayes a doubtfull perill being offered vnto *Caesar*, encreased the vaine report, and gaue matter why he should be more cōfident in the friendship and constancy of *Seianus*. Then shewing the fall of the grott wherein *Tiberius* banketed,

eius os lapsis repente saxis obruit quosdam ministros, hinc metus in omnes, & fuga eorum qui conviniū celebrabant; at the mouth whereof certein stones falling downe, slew some of the servants, wherupon all fearing, those that prepared the banquet fled. But *Seianus*, borne to obteine, and (as it were) to impatronise himselfe in his Princes favour, *genu, vultuq, & manibus super Casarem suspensas opposuit se incidentibus*, with knees, face and handes over-panching *Cesar*, opposed himselfe against the imminent ruines. This then is one of those actions which we before haue pointed at, and is by the circumstances in the highest degree, as well, happening so great a danger of life, as that the remedie was immediately taken, and that without
any

any premeditated discourse ;
 wherby was perceiued a minde
 most readie and well disposed
 towards the Prince ; because it
 seemed that by a strong motion
 of nature it selfe well inclined,
 a worke of so great safetie to his
 Lord was performed. Where-
 fore worthily followed the re-
 ward which the same Authour
 adioyneth : *Maiores ex eo , &
 quamuis exitiosa suaderet ; ut
 non sui anxius , cum fide audiebatur* : He grew greater heereby,
 and although hee should per-
 swade dangerous matters , they
 were yet faithfully heard , as
 from one not respecting him-
 selfe. Where these words are
 of especiall note : *ut non sui an-*
xius , as not respecting or care-
 lesse of himselfe : because they
 confirme the principle of hi-
 ding the appetite of our pro-
 per

per interest, vnder the vale of
 apparent desire to do the Prince
 seruice. Such then is the drift
 or *end* of the *Courtier*, and as
 hath beene declared must be
conertly or *overtly* desired, if he
 will induce the Prince to accept
 of his seruice, and make a pas-
 sage for the obtaining of *favour*,
 by meanes whereof he winneth
 the possession both of *profit* and
honour; marks which in his prin-
 cipall intention hee chiefly ai-
 meth at.

CHAP. V.

Of the Courtiers office or duty.

ALl those desseignes which
 men purpote, are to be
 compassed by action or ende-
 uour, the *end* being first duly
 considered, that course or acti-
 on which is taken for the ob-
 teining

teining thereof, is the office of the agent : wherefore the *Courtier* being bound (as a *Courti-er*) to haue immediatly in his intention, and withall to procure, the Princes seruice; it is manifest that the action which he purposeth to do, is, to *serue*; not in shew and in will, but effectually and in act : and this is so true, that according to the quantitie and qualitie of such operation, the fauour in proportion is answerable, which is the mediate reward of seruice; and the Prince which equallie diuideth the same, ought to measure it by the rule of merit, the which (as it is said) groweth from actuall seruice, in such wise, that who most serueth, meriteth most fauour, and who lesse, lesse reward. This is *Courtly right*, or *law*: as the
right

right or law politike and ciuill is founded vpon merit in the Common-wealth, that is, of benefits done vnto his countrey, which desert is recompensed according to distributiu iustice, whose rule is (as in the *morals* it is taught) *Geometricall proportion*: but to speake more fitly to the common capacitie, we say, that the *axiom* or ground being true, *That most is due to him that serueth most, and lesse to the lesse seruing, and nothing at all to him who actually is not in seruice*; it followeth, that they are greatly deceiued, who thinke with nobilitie only, with abundance of wealth, singularitie in learning, armes, or such like, to merit more than those vnto whom in respect of seruice, they are farre inferiours; because the reward of the Court (as hath beene sayd) must

must be proportioned as from the efficient cause from whence it groweth, vnto the actual service. For as if you were to make choice of a Captaine to vnder-take some dangerous enterprise, their pretention should be very vaine, that would perswade themselves, either for their beauty of body, learning, wealth or nobilitie, to be preferred in choice, before the more experienced and practised in matters of warre, though lesse learned, and inferior vnto them in other qualities: the like opinion is held of those who in Court pretend greater desert, for such like respects, whilst others in diligence of service go farre beyond them, because Courtly desert is not brought into the Court, but is necessarilie to bee sought for there,

there, and is by labour obtained : which labour properly of the *Courtier* is to serue. I say not now, that a learned Courtier is not of qualitie greater and more estimable than an ignorant, and a noble man than a plebeian, although in seruice; but I say, these are qualities, which not put in practise or exercised in the Princes seruice, reape no reward with him, they cause indeed a precedencie of one man before another, as members of a ciuill soeietie, but not as Courtiers. So likewise, if (for example) we consider of one nobly borne in comparison of a vulgar person, it is most cleere he is of greater estimation, as a man and part of the Citie; but if wee peize and compare them as souldiers, wherein, it may be, the ignoble is more practised

practised and better disposed
 (supposing at least it bee so)
 without all doubt hee shall be
 preferred, and the nobleman
 pretending the contrary should
 take a vaine and vndue excep-
 tion.

But heere we must not let
 passe a difficulty, occasioned by
 common obseruance, and iustly
 commended of all: that is, let
 vs suppose two in the Princes
 household, whereof one far ex-
 celles in nobility, learning and
 other like qualities, but little
 imploied in seruice; the other
 much inferiour vnto this: It is
 thought fit by all, that the more
 noble & qualified should more
 honourably bee entertained:
 wherefore we see him sometimes
 honored by the Prince at his ta-
 ble, receiveth greater commo-
 dities, of lodgings, of seruants,
 prece-

precedency in place, in title, in standing conered and in complement ; in fine, the Princes respect of him in estimation is very conueniently more then of the other, whereupon wee may doubt, how this may be an effect of Courtlie iustice, or how the foundation of desert should be seruice. Whereunto we answer thus; he who is comprehended in the Princes household may two waies be considered, either as such a man with such conditions and qualities, or as a Courtier only. If only as a Courtier, I say it shalbe iniustice to him who serueth more to be lesse rewarded, or but in equall liberality with him, who in actuall seruice was his inferior. If as such a man and so qualified, it is very reasonable, that who excelleth in good parts

in title, parts esteemed of in common
d in com- society, should be had in grea-
e Prince- er accompt and reputation.
mation is But there resteth a doubt if we
ore then hal preferre one consideration
pon wee before an other, and that when,
ay be an and in what things: for that we
lice, or see many times the considerati-
f desert on of one as qualified to bee
ereunto preferred before the other, as a
s com- Courtier, & therefore although
s hous- he serue lesse, is not withstan-
confi- ding in better place. We see
n with also on the other side, that the
ilities, best qualified in some things
f only stand farre inferiour, to the bet-
be in- ter and diligent seruing *Cour-*
more tier. For, speaking of fauours
ut in (for the most part) the best be-
who loved obtaine them, and those
eri- are, the diligent carefull in ser-
l so vice, they haue greater autho-
le, rity with the Ministers of the
od Court, and of the housholde
rts affaires

affaires of the Prince, yea and of the publike also, respecting the power of a *Courtier-favorite*, & the recompence with profit and dignity, presupposing their abilities, which ordinarily & without compare is more large to-wardes them. And surely the name of *Minion*, or *Prinado*, which we see commonly attributed to those greatly fauored in the Court, is not obtained by the best learned, by the greatest captains, the most noble, or the happiest in fortunes blessings; but by those who in their Princes seruice are most readie. So we see *Seianus* preferred in fauour with *Tiberius*, and with greater liberality rewarded then any other that serued at that time; albeit we may safely beleeue, there were many, in many other things that did surpasse him.

him. And also those *Pallanti*, *Narcisi*, and *Calisti* with *Claudianus* and *Tigillinus* about *Nero*, were not so farre in authority and fauour aboue others, as vnto an infinite number of those times, they were without all comparison most inferior in all other good qualities.

Wherefore we say that the benefits which the Prince doth, are of two sorts, one which he bestoweth amongst his seruants answerable to their qualities, as men in that kind enabled; these benefits are apparent and doe not grow vpon any Courtly desert of those on whom they are bestowed, but vpon the loue and fauour of the giuer; which is plaine, because they are bestowed in the beginning of seruice, when we cannot say there was any desert before, & might
aswell

aswell haue beene granted before any seruice, and it may be greater. The other kind of benefit, is that which is giuen to those, who with great diligence haue serued; and these are not granted but after seruice begun, and are augmented as the fauor by seruice doth encrease, which makes vs attaine sometimes to that pitch of grace that *Seianus* did, *qui varijs artibus Tiberium deuinxit adeo, ut obscurum aduersum alios, sibi uni incantum inuictumque efficeret*; who by fundry wiles had so bewitched *Tiberius*, that being close to all others, to him alone hee had him open and vncircumspect. But that which more importeth, he came to that height of fauor, that in the iourney which hee made with *Tiberius* out of the city, the *Senators*, *non modo*

Ann. 4.

aram

aram clementie, aram amicitie, sed
effigies quoque circum Caesaris et
Sejanus censuere; not only ere-
 cted an altar of Clemencie and
 another of Friendship, but
 thought meet to place the i-
 mages of Caesar and *Sejanus* a-
 bout them. Neither stayed hee
 heere, *crebris precibus efflagita-*
bant, visendi sui copiam facerent,
 most earnestly intreating they
 might haue the fauour to be-
 hold him, vsing the seruant as
 fellow with the Prince; but
 more, that which seemes in-
 credible, he durst hope for, yea,
 and in scorn of wonder obtai-
 ned in marriage the widowe,
 daughter in law to his Lord.
 Neither, it may be, is it of lesse
 consideration with the same
 Authour, that, which a princi-
 pall man of the Senate, called in
 question for his friendship with
Sejanus,

Seianus should say (amongst o-
 ther things) in his excuse, be-
 ing fallen vnto a miserable end
 through the whirle of fortunes
 rouling wheele ; *Etiā Satiri-
 um atque Pomponium veneraba-
 mur* , wee did likewise Court
Satirius and *Pomponius* ; neither
 did this suffice , *libertis quoque
 ac lanitoribus eius notescere pro
 magnifico accipiebatur* ; to bee
 knowne to his freed-men and
 doore-keepers we accompted a
 speciall grace. He saith not to
 be deere to them or in fauour,
 but *notescere* , that they would
 take notice of them : neither
 doth he say that it was necessary
 or profitable , but , *pro magnifi-
 co accipiebatur* , as a high and
 speciall grace. At that time it
 was a reputation and credit vn-
 to the *Senators* of *Rome* , not as
 then hauing altogether lost the
 brightnesse

brightnesse of their place, to be
knownen to *Seianus* freed-men
and doore-keepers : To such
degree of state sometimes doth
fortune heave a circumspect &
prouident Courtier, by means
of his place woorthily per-
formed, vnto which pitch of
height, it is not recorded that
euer any attained by fauour or
recompence of his Lord who
did not serue, but by some o-
ther way of merit liued in the
Court. Wherefore wee must
conclude that the office and
duty of a Courtier is actually to
serue, and that this is the action
wherewith oftentimes hee
becommeth not onely
possessor, but dispen-
sor too of the fa-
uour of his
Lord.

CHAP. VI.

*If in all things the Courtier be
bound to serue his
Prince.*

BVt to the intent it may the better be vnderstood what hitherto hath beene spoken of the office and duty of a *Courtier*, & that euery man may know within what bounds the duty of him that serueth is confined, and what things his office and bond embraceth, whereupon also the resolution of many things dependeth; it is very necessary to be vnderstood of the *Courtier* to whom it belongeth actually to serue his Prince, (as a kedy is concluded) be therefore bound to serue in all things without exception.

For clearing of this doubt, sifted and discussed by many,
me

me thinks, very many effectu-
all things may be said, neither
spoken of nor heard of heere to-
fore, wherein we will proceed
briefly and so farre as the vn-
property of the place will per-
mit, in this manner:

If it were possible without *riches*
of worldly
external helpe to obtaine hu-
mane felicity, so that euery man
by himselfe, were of suffici-
ency to compasse it, *Societies*
ould bee superfluous: but
since this is impossible, it hath
beene thought necessary, not
only to institute them, but with
all to make them the more ef-
fectuall, fruitfull and firme, to
giue them ability and vertue, to
binde all those that are compre-
hended in them, to performe
and act some thing woorthy
thereof, in such sort, that euery
associate, (as such an one) is

bound to endeavour himselfe to that end whereunto the society tendeth: and that this is true, there is no *Society* found without *Bond*, nor *Bond* without *Society*, either reall or rationally, that is, with tearmes and fellows really and apparent, or at least distinct in works of the minde and vnderstanding, as more plainly we will set downe in the *actine Philosophie*, which is the proper place. Wherefore the bond or duty, is no other thing then the habitude respect or custome which the associates haue together, which is an impulsive beginning to labour for their common good, as their only end. The labour or working which doth grow heereupon is called the office or duty of the associates, the which duty in fine, is no other thing then an
action

actiō springing from that bond, although this word, bond, is attributed also vnto the action, so that in saying he doth his duty, bond or office, it hath all one signification. Now it is cleere that this duty hath a proportion with the *End*, because that is the cause of the working, and therefore from it, it receiveth the rule, order and moderation, which ought to bee such as the end proposed requireth. Wherefore he doth his duty who worketh proportionably to the end set downe, and hee who doth actions preiudiciall to such end, doth the contrary. But he doth more then his duty who doth things comprehending the end and more: and he lesse, who doth things that in their owne nature, are not answerable to the destined *End*,

or leaueth many things vndon, which to the obtaining of the purposed end are very necessary. Whereupon, both duty and bond, as hath beene said, being all one, euery associate is bound to labour and indeuor for the end intended by the society wherein he is, and who doth lesse, answereth not his duty, and who doth more, is said to exceede in duty and is commendable, so it doth not prejudice the society in any sort: who doth any action not belonging to the *End*, worketh idly and in vaine, but who doth things hurtfull to the pretended end doth things contrary to his duty and bond. Wherefore we conclude, that by the purposed end of euery *Society*, is drawen and knowen what actions euery of the associates are

are bound to performe, and from which to abstaine, adding thus much for a greater declaration, of the actions which maybe performed in a society, some are commanded and fall vnder the bond which in that fellowship bindeth the associates therof, and these are the necessary actions for the obtaining the desired end, others are forbidden and doe discredit the actours thereof, and those are preiudiciall or contrary to that end: In both, the bond of duty hath power, but in those which are necessary it bindeth to the performance, & in those which are contrary to the abstinence.

Let vs come now to our particular purpose: it hath beene already sayd, there is a kinde of *societie* betweene the *Prince* and

the *Courtier*; the which for the inequality of termes, hath not altogether the *common benefit* for end: yet if, not that alone, at least principally that of the Master, wherefore the *Courtier* is bound to doe all that which doth comprehend the benefit, profit or service of his Lord. And because above wee haue sufficientlie declared that the service which is the end of this society is restrained to the household or *oeconomicall* part, in sort, that all the household actions which may redound to the benefit of the Prince, fall vnder the bond of the *Courtier*, that is, binde him to effect the same for the service of his Lord: and on the contrary, all that may preiudice this *oeconomicall* service, is forbidden the *Courtier*, and doing it, doth a thing vnworthie

worthie his name; and by that reason may be called an infamous seruant, since that as doing well, to the desired *end* of the societie, he obtaineth honor thereby: so who worketh to the contrary is defamed; yet not simply or wholly, but answerable to the societie and his bond of duty. As for example, hee should be a very infamous souldier, who at the giuing batrel should throw away his armes and flie, but not wholly disgraced, because hee might then iustly be so called, as if he had betrayed his Prince and countrey, or such like: for the reason which shalbe shewed elsewhere: so likewise he is a dishonorable *Courtier* who acteth any thing contrary to the *oeconomicall* seruice of his Prince, but not alto-

D 5 gether

gether a disgraced man or infamous citizen.

CHAP. VII.

If the Courtier upon occasion be bound to spend his life and goods in the Princes service.

THe Courtier then is bound, as appeareth by what hath beene sayd before, to serue his Prince in all *oeconomicall* actions, & not bound but exempt from all other not contained therein, as particularlie hath beene declared touching the publike affaires. Not, because doing any thing therein, he shal not deserue commendations; but, because not intermedling or not willing to deale therein, he can not iustly be censured.

The

The like both may and ought to be vnderstood of the particular offices of the Court, for that as the Courtier in generall comprehendeth all the household seruice, and is not otherwise bound to any thing, as not contained therein; so a particular officer or minister of the Court is bound onely to those actions, which particularly belong to his charge, and for the which he hath contracted seruice with the Prince: in the other there is no bond to constrain him. But because it hath beene said, that generally the Courtier ought to do all things belonging vnto *oeconomicall* seruice, there riseth a doubt, if therefore he be bound to neglect all other respects, and not to care for any losse particularly either of life or goods, fully to effect

effect the same. For solution then of this difficultie, it is necessary againe to speake of some things very important, concerning societie, but moderatlie, because in our *actvall Philosophy* wee must speake thereof with greater plainnesse and more distinctly. Wee say then in the meane time, that particular societies do aime at some particular good wherewith more easily they obtaine that onely happinesse whereunto euery humane desire and thought is bent, as to the last and most noble end, vnto the which the others doe serue as meanes and helps, with such order that those neereft vnto it are the more noble and more desired, so that the inferior is commanded and ruled by the superior, or at least without the hurt or offence of it, nature

ture not permitting, that a thing
lesse desired, should be procu-
red with the offence or hurt of
an other more deere and noble,
for so should the course and or-
der of causes be ouerthrowen,
& with that confusion deprive
the second causes of that vertue
and efficacy which they receive
from the first, and by conse-
quence make a surceasing of the
motions which succeed: the
which is true, not alone in the
causes of naturall motion, a-
mongst the which the superior
taken away, the inferiour can
worke or moue nothing at all.
As doubtlesse the elements
should be idle, if the heauen the
superior cause were not, neither
would the heauen moue, if the
internall parts assisted not, nor
should that haue force of moti-
on, if from the superiour, and
finally

finally from the first mouer, by tradition from one vnto the other, there were not vertue imparted. But so likewise it falleth out in designs and purposed *Ends* ; amongst the which that is the first & chiefest, which by influence (as it were) doth impart the vertue of mouing the desire to all the rest, and doth make it happy, as hath beene said, and by degrees doth much more qualifie the next adiacent *Ends*, in such sort, that it is impossible for an inferiour to moue any affection without the vertue of the superiours purpose : but much more to be able to moue the desire towards himselfe, with a preiudice of that good, which doth exceede it. By example it will be made more plain. There is no doubt, but the sickeman for his health
fake

take longeth for a medicine: and therefore I say, that it is impossible he should wish for it, or in any sort consent to the taking thereof imagining it hurtfull to his health, and the reason is, because the lesser or inferiour purpose or end, doth not moue but by vertue of the greater and more eminent, and therefore when no vertue doth flow from this, that other by no meanes can be desired, neither then doth it impart any vertue at all, when the inferiour purpose or end doth preiudice or hurt the superior, as hath beene said of the potion hurtfull to the health.

Now let vs come to our own case, and giue solution of the propounded difficultie, which most easily will be done: I say that the *Courtier* can not desire
in

in the service of his Prince, any thing that shall be hurtfull or contrarie to his owne profit and commoditie; the reason is, because he desireth not the Princes service, as thereby mooved vnto it. But by reason of his owne profit which giuing vertue and efficacie to that service, to mooue the Courtiers desire and appetite, doth not suffer for the reasons before noted, that he desire it to his preiudice. Wherefore all that is contrarie to the Courtiers profit, meaning that profit, which (as a Courtier) is the end hee aimeth at; hath without question no place in his desires, whilest he desireth to serue the Prince: all which is occasioned by the dependancie of *Ends*, amongst which, his owne profit is chiefest and superior; the Princes service, the lesser

lesser and inferior, whereupon of necessitie that must be granted, because howbeit this *Societie* be not fully a societie, for the disparity of termes, so also is there not assigned for the scope thereof a benefit and commoditie equally common. Yet notwithstanding since in the contracting thereof, the election of the Prince interposeth it selfe aswell as that of the Courtier, it should in some sort make common the benefit thereof. For if you bound it within this terme, that the scope thereof be the Princes service, but yet so, as ioined in a sort to the Courtiers benefit, because it is absolutely impossible to worke for another, not hauing an intention for some proper benefit. And this being knowne (as is said) by the Prince, he contracteth

eth the societie with a band on his part also, that is, to benefit the seruant (as heereafter shall be declared) and is contented the Courtier serue him, intending his owne profit: wherefore the Prince desiring, that either without this, or contrary to this *interest*, the Courtier should serue, requireth a thing contrary to all right: neither is the Courtier in any sort bound to serue him. And more particularly to come to the propounded difficultie, I say, that neither the Prince can looke for it, nor the Courtier is bound to spend his life for his Lord, the reason why, is, because the life is farre more deere, then all that he can either hope for, or desire in seruice. Whereupon as he should be held for one vnadvised, who for a lesser good, should

should chuse the losse of a greater benefit, so should that *Courtier* haue little discretion, who for the obtaining of the purpose of his seruice, which consisteth in profit, dignity and power, would aduenture the hazard & losse of his life, which by many degrees is more deere vnto him, then al these benefits; yea such as without the which therest cannot be obtained: and if we resolue thus touching the life, much more ought we vnderstand the same in case of *honor* and *reputation*, according to the Ciuill opinion, which is far more precious then the life in the highest degree. Concerning *Goods*, the resolution is not so easie, since those who propound vnto themselves, the increase or winning of profit, it is necessarie they consider what they lose

lose and what they hope to get, because it may bee answered in this sort : That it is fit to spend lesse of a mans abilitie in his Masters seruice , then that which he is in hope to get by the same : neither is it ment the *Mercenary Courtier* is bound to impouerish himselfe , and suffer detriment in his wealth , fully and competently to serue his Lord. But who so preferreth dignities, honor and power, respects of much greater estimation then riches, may securely for the obtaining of them spend of his owne, as voluntarily, not of dutie , if the contract either expresly or couertly binde him not thereunto. The which point of contracts is very considerable, amongst the which are the use and sustome of the Courts , the which more
or

or lesse tie the Courtiers to like expences. As if the Prince in any Court vse to keepe table for his seruants, the Courtier knowing the same, and bound to seruice, is to serue at his owne charge; which in other Courts he were not, where the custome is the Courtiers shall be found their diet. But of like matters, as things of small note, there needs no longer discourse.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Princes bond or dutie towards the Courtier.

HAuing now resolved and made plaine the proposed difficulties, it is requisite before wee passe any farther, to shew, (and indeed the Courtier may in reason desire to be satisfied) what the Princes office or dutie

dutie is towards him, hauing
 fully set downe the *Courtiers*
dutie vnto the Prince; to the
 end he may know what to hope
 for by his seruice, and how farre
 to stretch the limits of his pre-
 tentions, because hercof it may
 follow, that hee will neither in-
 discreetly make offer of his ser-
 uice, not knowing to what end
 he shal labour, nor happely shal
 vniustly complaine of his Lord,
 as nothing liberall or beneficial
 towards him: a thing which as
 it many times falles out, so is it
 with all possible care to be re-
 mooued, since iars and conten-
 tions doe stop the passage to fa-
 uour, and for the most part
 breed disgusts and pikes of ill
 satisfaction & diffidence both
 on the one side and on the o-
 ther. But because these things
 shall be more largely treated of
 else-

biquis

elsewhere, we will onely heere
restraine our reasons to breui-
tie, and point at that which to
our present matter seemeth ne-
cessarie. Wee saie then that
though the society of the Prince
with the *Courtier* (as before is
noted) be not a perfect society
whereby the end thereof is not
as in others, wholly the com-
mon benefit, there is no doubt
notwithstanding, but the Prince
hath likewise on his part a cer-
taine bond, by vertue whereof
he is tied not alone to desire,
but withall to looke out and
performe, some thing which
may be beneficiall and commo-
dious for his seruant. And this
is that which at this time wee
purpose to manifest, that is, vn-
to what kinde of benefit, and
vnto what termes he is bound:
because as the *Courtier* (by what
hath

hath beene said) is not bound to
serue him, but in some things,
and in those also by certaine li-
mits; it seemeth very reasona-
ble, that withall, neither the du-
ties of the *Prince* should ex-
tend to euery benefit, whereof
the *Courtier* is capable, but vnto
some onely, and in those, vnto
some determinate end, so that
the one bond may be answerable
vnto the other, and that be-
twene them, there may be a
due and iust proportion, that it
may not seeme, this *Societie* is
rashly or inconsiderately made.
There is no doubt then, but
moderating this dutie by the
End, such should the action be,
as the first purpose requireth,
and since we haue said the finall
end or scope of the *Courtier* to
be his *Proper interest*, it is most
cleere, that as hee is bound to
worke

worke or indeuour to bring to
 passe that *End*, which moued
 the *Prince* to conclude societie
 with him, which is his *Proper*
service: in like sort the Prince is
 bound to worke for perform-
 ance of that end which moued
 the *Courtier* to linke himselfe in
 bonds of seruitude with him:
 So as wee may say, that the
 Prince is bound to worke for
 the benefit of the Courtier, in
 those things that the Courtier
 propoundeth to obtaine by ser-
 uice, and those are *Profit* and
Honour. But the greatest diffi-
 cultie resteth, that is, how farre
 forth, or in what measure And
 truly, if we consider that in cases
 of *Societie*, no man performeth
 his dutie if hee giue not satisfac-
 tion to his companion, which
 if he doe, it will be iudged that
 hee hath performed the expe-
 ctation

E

Statation, this satisfaction then riseth, from the proportionate working to that end which his associate desireth.

Endes, as hath beene said before, are in themselves infinite, that is, desired without measure: so as the Courtier desireth not an indifferent profit, or a meane degree or dignitie, but the greatest that may be obtained. I speake not indefinitely, but as from that Prince, because hee must not in his desires extend himselfe further then the Princes abilitie doth serue, that rule being well knowne, that no man is bound to an impossibilitie: it should bee an insatiable desire, which should so farre carry any man to request more of his lord then hee can doe, or grant or procure by his authoritie. It seemeth then hitherto, that the
Prince

Prince is bound to offer al those honors and profits vnto his Courtier, which immediately or mediately he can grant. Notwithstanding we must note, that as the Courtier himselfe, is not bound to doe all that he can in seruice of his Prince, when the performance thereof shall bee preiudiciall to his proper interest: so much lesse is the Prince bound to benefit the Courtier in such things as are damageable or offensiue to his seruice, & so much the more, by any action preiudiciall to more important and desired benefits of his owne profits: hence may bee gathered, whether he be bound to benefit the Courtier in things which bring dishonor or special detriment to his owne affaires or fortunes, danger to his life, dilage to his person, or displeasure

pleasure to his minde : by these principles also may be examined, if hee bee to benefit that Courtier, who of necessitie is to abandon his service, and many other commendable thinges woorthie the knowledge of the curious. But because to proceed further heerein were to exceed those termes wherein a methodicall writer is to conteine this arte, they are differred and shall be (God willing) fully handled in that part of *activa Philosophy*, which treateth of *Oeconomicall* prudence.

CHAP: IX.

Of two sorts of services considerable.

FORasmuch as I suppose we have sufficiently discountred of the purposed scope or end of the
the

the Courtier, and of his duty in
generall: aswell the order of the
treaty as their profit to whom
we intend it, requireth, that
we draw vnto the particulars so
much as we may, to confirme
and establish precepts & rules
for the more prouident procee-
ding therein. You shall vnder-
stand therefore; that there are
two kind of seruice which may
be done vnto the Prince, the
first is due and answereth to
the particular charge or office
which is held in court, either of
*Steward, Treasurer, Auditor, Se-
cretary*, or such like. The se-
cond is not otherwise contei-
ned in duty, but offereth it selfe
of a free-will and election be-
yond all duty, and the reason
heereof is, that the fauour be-
ing answerable to the seruice
that is done: who desireth

greater fauour, then that deserued by this particular seruice and proper charge which hee holdeth in the Court, must likewise enlarge himselte in seruice, and by that meanes merit a greater portion of fauour, by prefiguring vnto himselte an obiect which in the amplitude thereof may be answerable to the whole cōpasse of the seruice hee may doe to the Prince, but so, that the parts respectiue and in proportion correspond vnto the parts of his seruice, in such sort, that to the office of Secretary, of Auditor, and the like, there be allotted such measure of fauor, so restrained within his limits, that it partake not with that of an other office. Wherefore it is necessary for the *Courtier* who hath in purpose to be absolutely possessed
of

of al fauor not to content him-
felfe within the termes of his
particular seruice, but wisely to
endeuour the extention of his
confines in a more ample sort.
Yet with this condition, not
rashly to discouer himfelfe an
vsurper or intruder vpon other
mens offices or charges, bicause
this would breede hatred a
mongst the *Courtiers*, and a
concept of presumption with
the Prince. And therefore must
rather choose to deale with
those which priuatly belong
not to any one, but are indiffe-
rent to all, and may therefore
be exercised by any Courtier
without the preiudice or dis-
pleasure of any one. This kind
in what it consisteth shall be
declared in his place, in the
meane time we will call it, vo-

luntary service, as the first service of duty.

But there ariseth heere a doubt, which is this, if he may not haue the whole fauour, who taketh not vpon him the whole service, which cannot be done without the offence of others, and it may be the little-satisfaction of the Prince: it followeth then that it is impossible euer to be full possessor of the entire fauour. Whereunto it is answered, that to intrude into an other mans charge, not called & without authority, doth breed bad effects as hath beene noted before; but either called or prouoked thereunto by the Prince, or put in trust therewith through confidence obtained with him, then he both may and must doe it, where you shall vnderstand

vnderstand that the order to
obtaine such fauour, is thus: by
seruing diligently to the Princes
liking in his speciall or appoin-
ted office, that part of grace or
credit is thereby obtained cor-
respondent thereunto, offering
of himselfe in voluntary serui-
ces that doe encrease credit and
fauour, from which encrease,
occasion is offered (as more di-
stinctly shall be set downe) to
insinuate himselfe into the con-
fines of other mens offices: so
that by well seruing, fauour is
augmented, & by this increase
groweth occasion to posses the
entire seruice; whereunto after-
ward is answerable, the absolute
embracement of the Princes
loue and fauour; for the win-
ning wherof the Courtier chief-
ly laboreth as the only cause of
his felicity.

Yet heere riseth a greater question, because it is very manifest to be vaine and superfluous to encrease diuers essences & things without speciall neede or necessity : though it be not without cause, the institution of many officers in a Court, since one alone cannot sufficiently satisfie the Princes affairs : and if then it be so, he laboreth in vaine, whosoever hopeth (as hath beene said) alone to vndertake the whole seruice, and by consequence, it shall be labour lost, to aspire the winning of the whole fauour. To this it is easily answered, shewing first by example, that in the greatest administrations, one alone may sustaine the charge of all the seruice of a great Prince : as hath beene done by the antient *Pre-tors* and *Proconsuls* : who were
sent

sent into diuers Prouinces: and by the *Viceroyes* and gouernors who are at this day destinated to the greatest charges, and who doubtlesse vndertake the whole seruice of the Prince in those gouernments, for that in him, that is in his authority, the whole multitude of inferiour officers are vnited. Wherefore I say, that one effectually or in act of execution is not capable of all the offices in the whole Court; some of them being so nice and troublesome, that they require a whole man, free from all other care: but in effect he may containe them all, being able by his authority to institute, ordaine, distribut, moderate and moue all; so that the whole domesticall businesse of the Prince may be perfectly satisfied: for that how be it this seemeth

seemeth the office of the Master and not of any servant, we see notwithstanding for the most part, affaires to be so little pleasing vnto Princes, especiallie of houtholde matters, that they had rather leaue the whole charge, to the wisdom and fidelity of some one thought worthy thereof; in which sort it is not impossible that it should bee vndertaken by one alone. Yet it resteth that we discourse more particularly of the two kinds of seruices propounded, and first of seruice due.

C H A P. X.

Of seruice by duetie or affectioned.

IT is necessary that first we beginne our deserts with some particular duetie, a thing which
ordina-

ordinarily happeneth to all that will haue footing in Court, because for the most part there is some speciall title of seruice assigned them, in the which they must by all the possible meanes they can, giue satisfaction to the Prince. So that, as according to the old sentence, *ex nihilo nihil fit*, in like sort, it is impossible for him euer to obtain any fauour, who hath no portion or place of seruice; but hee that possesseth any part, as necessarily euery Courtier doth, may make himselfe passage to speciall fauour. And certes hee deserueth the name of a wise Courtier, who in the beginning can giue such force and vigor to his seruice, or any part thereof, wherein he shall be employed, that hee grow fruitfull and fertile in his Princes fauor, euen
to

to the last and highest degree: for those in course are most commendable, who by their dexteritie and Courtly valour come neereſt to this marke. To doe the ſame then, it ſeemeth very requiſit to begin (as it hath beene ſaid) from the woorthie and due performance of his proper charge and place, whereof we may not heere giue precepts. Becauſe if the Courtier be to be Maſter of the horſe, let him haue recourſe to *Canalierizzi* and ſuch as teach to manage them; if an Auditour, to thoſe ſkilful in accounts, & ſuch like: the which as euery man may ſee are not within the terms of this Arte. But howſoeuer, let him endeavour to be ſkilfull in his owne office, for thereby he ſhall obteine that fauour and grace correspondent thereunto;
it

it being a thing not questionable, that an excellent *Divine*, a *Secretary*, or *Auditor*, manifesting themselves by their works, should prouoke and allure the loue and fauour of the Prince, by so much the more, as they are more rare and excellent. True it is that here we must call to minde that which before in another place hath beene spoken, that is, that the fauour of the Court is not gotten by the epinion of vertue, but by the vle and exercise thereof to the Princes profit. Wherupon none of them that will deserue well, must content himselfe to bee singular and perfect in his profession alone, but how with greatest perfection and rarity in service to giue satisfaction and pleasure to his Prince. This chiefly consisteth in manifesting
an

an exact diligence with a desire
to spare no paines fully to giue
him satisfaction : for as benefits
ioyned with loue and kinde de-
monstrations infinitely encrease
respect and duetie , so likewise
seruice done with an earnest af-
fection and a kind of partialitie
towards the Prince , worketh
maruellous effects ; this being
most certeine, that manie petie
seruices , and almost vnworthie
consideration , only accompa-
nied with an affectiue shew ,
haue beene the beginnings of
speciall rewards and incredible
fauours : and to say truth, there
is no such price or meanes to
compasse or win loue, as loue it
felfe. But heerin we must stand
well aduised to shunne a most
dangerous rocke, that is, *curious
and open affectation*, which may
breed an opinion in the Prince
of

of want of iudgement, in knowing whats conuenient, or els that which is more perillous, a doubt or suspect of dissimulation, and by consequence an effect of hatred or scorne, not alone with the Prince, but with the Courtiers also, who take no pleasure that any man should be over-diligent, or in appearance too-too passionate in the Princes seruice. Next, not to giue matter of iest by beeing seene beyond all termes of modestie or decorum to become like an inamoured louer in the seruice of his Lord: This affection which is an excesse, consisteth in nothing else than in making the shew before named with greater ardencie and more earnestlie than is fit, either in the action, which requireth no such diligent affect, or at least,
not

not of him that doth it, but of persons more inwardlie conioint, and of the Princes confidents: or in respect of the place and time, as where the Masters eye is present, or els such persons as necessarily or in all likelihood will giue him notice of the same, it should be coniectured that therefore he doth exceed in shew thereof, the which by so much the more growes odious, by how much it is discovered to be done for his own profit and commodity: and the more ridiculous, being knowen the effect of a weak iudgement, to observe *decorum* in himselfe, or in his actions, place or time, & other circumstances, al which proceed from a plebean and a seruile mind. But on the other side, it seemeth such demonstration and shew is done with reason

reason and conueniency, when in the execution of that which to our proper charge belongeth, we do so much as is thought fit and necessarie, and besides that, perceiuing in the Prince a desire that the action be reiterated, or that a greater diligence be vsed therein, we endeouour fully to satisfie him, shewing to do the same, not only without any grudge or murmuring, but with a willingnes and pleasure, though it may be inwardly it be gricuous and displeasing, and therefore we must not attend til by command the Prince discover his desire, but diuing (as it were) into his minde, make an incounter with his pleasure, preuenting the discovery; because the Prince by nature earnestlie desiring his proper seruice, which consisting in the Courtiers

Courtiers diligence, of necessitie taketh pleasure to see him, not liberall alone, but prodigall (if we may say so) in an earnest curiosity and desire to consume himselfe, for his absolute and compleat satisfaction. And in this sort wee must thinke, the *Courtier* exactly doth performe his duty in his particular charge, from whence there is hope offered him, when time shall serue, to propagate and enlarge his confines, within the which his office is restrained, it being verie likelie, that the Prince being satisfied of his abilitie and readinesse in his priuat office, will giue a passage and entrance vnto greater affaires, which shall be the fruit to haue performed his dutie, as was requisit, by reason of the place he beareth in the Court.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of voluntary or assistant service.

BUt if notwithstanding all this diligent obseruation of the things aboue saide, the Prince shall affoord vnto the Courtier no more fauour then is iustly answerable to his particular service; it is fit hee seeke out other meanes for his promotion, and to say trueth, who-soeuer will haue, a greater reward then which of due belongs vnto him, it seemeth very requisite, that he doe also some thing more, then that which of right appertaines to him, wherefore hee must not onely endeavour himselfe diligently to satisfie his owne charge or place, but to imploy himselfe withall in some other things, whereby the Prince may make coniecture of
the

the *Courtiers* loue, and incessant will to doe him seruice. Yet true it is, that heerein wee must be very circumspect, because to insinuate or thrust himselfe into other mens charges without order from the Prince, should be a rashnesse and presumption; wherefore hee shall note that there are certeine endeouors to this purpose very fit, as those which not onely are not hatefull, but very acceptable.

Chiefly this *assistance* seemeth to be in places, where the being is both honorable and commodious to the Prince, and these are in the forechamber or that of the *Presence*, where manie strangers meeting, either by occasion of businesse, or other complement, it cannot but be very gratefull vnto the Prince, to see it well frequented with his seruants

servants, creatures & favorites,
by whom they are receaved, ho-
nored, entertained, and in the
end brought before him. In like
sort when he feedeth, it cannot
but be pleasing vnto him to bee
incircled with manie atten-
dants; As also in his visitations,
or if hee chance to goe abroad,
to haue many about him, as-
suredly will be very acceptable,
aswell for their readinesse vpon
any occasion that may be of-
fired, as by the honorable re-
spect which he receaueth, not
so much by the multitude,
which is a sign of magnificence,
as by their diligent seruice,
which argueth a liberal and be-
neficiall minde in him; where-
fore the Courtier must not
thinke it tedious or time lost to
be present vpon such occasions,
the which thing will make so
much

much the greater impression, if
 such be his office, as by vertue
 thereof he may well be excused,
 because by how much lesse hee
 is bound thereunto, the greater
 note is taken of his affection.
 This then is the benefit which
 is gotten by this attendance or
 assistance, which in summe, is
 the Princes satisfaction, but the
 fruit which it bringeth with it,
 is of much more importance by
 the occasions which are offered
 of infinite consequence in this
 arte: for that by this attendance,
 in place where he is often sub-
 iect to the eie of the Prince, he
 winneth every day a greater fa-
 miliaritie, and accustoming his
 sight to the object of his per-
 son, the Courtier doth stil keepe
 himself in a fresh remembrance:
 besides all this, manie times
 there falleth out occasion of
 businesse

businesse in some matters, the
 execution wherof either in their
 own nature, or for want of time
 or other cause, is not commit-
 ted to those to whom in Court
 it doth properly belong; but to
 such whom chance or choice
 made present; and although
 this belong not to their office,
 as hath beene said, yet yeelding
 satisfaction, by the dexterous
 performance thereof, it mooue-
 eth in the Prince a thought and
 will, choicely or by name to
 command him at an other time,
 and in the end to possesse him
 wholly with that charge. I leaue
 to speak of the accidents which
 may fall out, by one whereof, or
 very few of them, the entire fa-
 vour may bee obtained. It is
 most cleere, that *Seianus* by ma-
 ny sleights, made conquest of
Tiberius loue: yet that accident
 F of

of falling of the *grott* or caue, whose ruins he held vp, defending the life of his Prince, with perill of his owne, did so farre aduance his fauour, that afterwards euen at his pleasure they might dispose of him. But amongst the rest of al these, there are two most important benefits, by this diligent assistance or presence, the one is the knowledge of the nature & humour of the Prince: the other is occasions, which often fall out, to haue discourse or talke with him. The knowledge of the nature, customes, affections & humour of the Prince, is most necessary, for imitation and accommodating your selfe vnto him. The occasion of discourse or talke with him, is of no lesse infinite consideration and profit; whereof it being so, that we shall

shall speake heereafter; we will in the meane time saie something of the meanes how to know the humor of the Prince, and of fitting your selfe thereunto; and after we will treat of reasoning and discourse with him.

CHAP. XII.

Meanes how to know the nature and affection of the Prince.

IF it be necessarie euerie artizan haue knowledge of the matter wherein he is to shew the essence and forme of his arte and occupation; as the Tailor of cloth; of iron the Smith; and the Mason of marble: If the Physitian can not put in practise his facultie, without a precedent knowledge of the body,

F 2 curable,

curable, and to be short, of eue-
 rie *agent*, presuppose the know-
 ledge of the subiect wherein
 they are to worke : we may also
 say it is great reason, that the
 Courtier being by his labour
 and industrie to induce and
 gently wrest into the Prince's
 minde a loue and liking of him,
 should by so much as is possible
 haue a full and perfect know-
 ledge of him, to the end that
 by this foreknowledge, he may
 order, rule, and moderate al his
 actions: since it is out of questi-
 on, that there is not one maner
 of proceeding with all men: for
 we may by some way obtaine
 the fauour of one, which would
 procure the hatred of another :
 wherefore if the nature of eue-
 ry one lay open and were mani-
 fest, so that easily it might bee
 learned and perceiued, it were
 an

an idle thing to giue precepts to obserue it, or to obtaine the knowledge therof. But because, than it, there is nothing more close or secret to him that hath not prying eies alwaies open as well of body as minde, it shall not bee superfluous briefly to discourse of this matter.

We say then that diuers are the meanes wherby the natures of men are knowen, amongst the which the art of *Physiognomy* doth helpe very much, by meanes wherof some haue been able to penetrate and search into the inmost and most concealed affects of the minde of other men : And howbeit the arte seeme full of fallacies, yet when many signes concurre together signifying one and the same affect, then wisemen will not that it bee vaine to giue credit, as

settled vpon naturall grounds.

Galen on their side is of opinion, and hath largely discoursed thereupon, that *Animi mores*

X *sequantur temperaturam corporis.*

And vnto him the whole Colledge of the best Physitions do consent, that the temperature and composition of the body being knowen, it is most easie to gesse what are the affects, manners and naturall inclinations of the minde. The *Rhetoricians*, amongst whom *Aristotle*, as chief & Prince, teach this excellent rule, to consider the age and condition; as whether old or yong, or of a middle time, whether noble or ignoble, rich or poore, whether potent or of meane fortune, and such like, vnto which conditions he doth attribute their particular affects and manners, so that knowing
in

in which of them any man is found, presently are his affecti-
 ons known: we may besides
 joine vnto these the education
 and profession, apt also to qua-
 lifie and give a habit to their
 subiects. Likewise in the books
 by me set forth of *Eloquence*
 it is declared, that from the
 phrase of speech and meta-
phors that are vsed, the nature
 of him that formeth them may
 be perceiued, and this also to
 haue beene the opinion of an-
 tient sages, whereof as I suppose
 in that worke I haue given suf-
 ficient reason.

But because these & such like
 waies are too much grounded
 vpon Generals, & to the Cour-
 tier by reason of the place he
 holdeth, there is a more secure
 passage offered, we say that the
 true meanes to attaine to the

knowledge of the Princes nature and custome is by his actions : and yet not all, but those of choice, because these discover the inclination, as by the effect the cause is knowen; and although dissimulation, at first sight putting on a colourable habit, and occasion of the action, either different or contrary to the naturall propension and inclinement, it is yet notwithstanding impossible to conceale or hide the same, from a circumspect and wise Courtier, for that if watchfully he shall obserue actions, it will easily appeare whether he worke naturally and by a contracted habit, or else dissemblingly; because nature being euer the same, and habits being gotten by custome, the actions must needes be vniforme and alike within

within themselves. But diffi-
mulation wherewith nature is
not inuested, but ouer-shadow-
ed cannot be of that force, but
 that some beame or raie of the
 true and naturall inclination at
 one time or other will pierce
 and passe the same, and this is
 so true, that as yet there hath
 neuer beene seene, nor is it pos-
 sible, euer to see so excellent a
dissembler, who hath not beene
discovered and vnmasked by
 him who familiarly shall deale
 with him and carefully consider
 his actions by due comparing
 them together. Because the
arte of dissembling groweth of
a forced and contrary habit vn-
 to nature, it cannot be, but ma-
 ny times of his proper force
withdrawing it self from vnder
 so heauy a yoake it will worke
actions quite contrary to those

of dissimulation. True it is that the cunning dissembler is cautious and wary, and therefore doth not disrobe himselfe of his habit, but either by violence or confidence : by *Violence*, I meane forced by some mighty hand to say or worke the truth, a thing which cannot fall out betweene the Prince and the Courtier. But there is an other kinde of violence, very profitable, and to be considered, that is, an excesse of the affections stirred vp or moved : the cause is, *reason* being sometimes troubled induceth forgetfulnesse of that caution, openeth the secrets of the heart, and discouereth that, which dissimulation kept most secret, besides the promptnes or difficulty it selfe of falling into these excesses laieth open what is the true naturall

rall habit, because from hence it groweth that he is more or lesse prone or apt to perturbations vpon such like motions. But the consideration of *Confidence* is of most speciall importance, the which particularly consisteth in *places* and *persons*, and in the persons is considered the beneuolence wherewith they are made firme, or the opinion of their incapacity to vnderstand and penetrate, as also to make manifest that which they know in the *places*, for that the chiefeft end of dissimulation being to maske or shadow naturall instinct, when the places give assurance, promising secrecie by their remotenesse from the knowledge of men they do easily entice the dissembler to give the raines & liberty to the force of nature; and by the same reason,

reason, to discover himselfe to muddy persons of little vnderstanding, and lesse accustomed to their caution : or rather because naturall actions, are done with more ease & pleasure, they put off, or at least ease themselves of that habit of dissimulation : they doe this and much more with persons of whose loue they are very confident, and therefore it is reported that *Seianus varijs artibus Tiberium deuinxit adeo, vt obscurum aduersum alios, sibi uni incantum insectumque efficeret* : By sundry sleights had so bewitched *Tiberius*, that being secret to all others, to him alone he lay open and vncircumspect.

The Courtier then who earnestly desireth to sound his Princes minde must, mal-gree dissimulation, haue notice of his

his actions in his most retired places, know what talke he hath with common persons, particular confidants, and with those that either by age or want of wit may make him more secured, because by the collection of the actions and talke obserued and compared together, and the conformity or disagreement betweene them well considered, the way will be very plaine to know him aswel within as without. Taking care notwithstanding to doe this in such sort, that for a *Courtier* you be not taken as a *spie*, and withall remember, that *tam nescire quādam, quam scire oportet*: It is as fit not to know some things as to know them: To conclude, all these actions must be tempered and accompanied with dexterity, the which cannot be taught,

taught, but must be naturall, though by experience in many things, it be much refined.

CHAP. XIII.

*The manner how to accommo-
date himselfe to the Prin-
ces humor.*

NOW that the *Courtier* shall have perfect knowledge what is the humor and inclination of his Prince, it resteth to consider in what sort hee is to conforme himselfe thereunto in his seruice; wherefore we say, that the nature of the Prince, either is plaine and open, and as they say, *absque futo, & fallacia*, or it is encombred and shadowed with a skreene of dissimulation. If it be open, the rule is easie therein to be obserued, because to what he is scene to in-
cline

cline, to the same without all
question is the Courtier to en-
able and conforme himselfe,
professing armes if the Prince
be of nature martiall; learning
& letters, if he delight in know-
ledge; in holinesse and religion,
if he be deuout; neat and deli-
cate in apparell, entertainments
and all other things, if he vrge
this; diligent and quicke in ex-
ecution, if he in his actions be
exquisite and by nature speedy.
To conclude, he is to adapt and
fit himselfe by all the meanes
he may vnto his will, and make
himselfe, if it bee possible, the
very portraict of his properties
and fashions. Because selfe loue
which is the roote of all other
loues, chiefly extends it selfe
vnto his like, and more towards
those who conforme them-
selues in maners and naturall
inclination

inclination thereunto. Besides, if he make shew of imitation not by pronenesse of nature, but by wil & of choice purpose, this also is very pleasing, & is as an approbation of his actions, manners, and choice; a thing of all men desired: or at least as in tearmes of obedience and consent.

It is by oddes a thing more difficult to fit himselfe to dissimuled humors: because framing himselfe to that which fainedly the Prince professeth, it is most cleare that such conformity doth not light vpon his naturall inclination, and therefore doth not search vnto the quicke, but resteth vpon a superficiall affectation: On the other side, if he will make profession of the Princes fashions with a close dissimulation, it cannot

cannot bee pleasing vnto himselfe without his own preiudice, knowing that no man praiseth or commendeth that in another, which he doth truly hate in himselfe (I speake in matter of cariage or behauour) and surely hee should feed himselfe with a vaine hope, that should thinke to be pleasing by intemperance, to him that maketh shew to be deuoted vnto continency: or by a desire of reuenge to him, who either openly or couertly declares himselfe easie to forget all iniuries. To conclude, the Prince dissembling, cannot openly bee delighted with any one, that shall make shew to haue a habit in that, which colourably he is faine to couer, without manifesting the truth of his inward meaning, and making the false appearance

rance to be knowne. But on the contrary, he doth not truly conforme himselte vnto the Prince who doth not wholly fit himself to his true and naturall inclination. Wherefore in these difficulties, it seemes the indifferent way is not to discover himselte openly or by a professed habit to be contrary to the dissimulation of the Prince ; (for example) shewing himselte incontinent, with one that professeth temperance. For that this might in reason seeme a despising of him, and to haue in slightesteeme the disgust or displeasure which he by these actions and contrary courses might giue to the Princes open and apparent disposition : or else might breed suspect of his knowledge of the disguise or counterfeiting ; a thing, which questionles might
win

win him hatred. But the Courtier must shew himselfe to bee naturally inclined thereunto, although in reason hee repugne the same, and be faine to force himselfe thereunto : because that which is truly naturall vnto the Prince, shall so much the more be iudged a naturall inclination in him, though masked with a vaile or dissimulation. Hence it is very likely would grow great good liking in the Prince, and the high way vnto confidence would be made easie : besides, since needs he must lie open vnto some, it is cleere, he will sooner discover himselfe vnto one, to bee of like affect, and much more if happily the Courtier be able to serue him in that inclination ; wherefore we say it is necessary in termes of obedience and of dutifull regard
towards

towards the Prince dissembling, to conforme himselfe in some part to the coloured affect and fashion. But to make passage vnto confidence, it is more profitable to giue apparent signes of a true, or a truly dissembled inclining in himselfe, the which inclining must bee like to that which he knowes truly to be naturall in the Prince, vnto whose humour in my opinion this is the next way to bee conformable.

CHAP. XIII.

*Whether it be fit to haue often
speech or conference with
the Prince.*

WE come now to speake of the conferences with the Prince, and first of all let vs consider, if it be profitable
to

to the Courtier to haue easie ac-
cesse vnto the Princes eares, be-
cause on the negative part, it
seemeth there are these reasons,
as doubtlesse that this manifest
fauour breedeth him great en-
uie with the other Courtiers,
and how pernicious a thing that
is, is very plaine, whereof wee
mind to speake at large in due
place: besides many informati-
ons are made vnto the Prince,
whose author not being known,
it is attributed vnto those, who
often haue conference with
him, whereupon followeth the
hatred, not alone of those offen-
ded but of others who haue rea-
son to feare the like, beside the
note of a malignant detractor.
Heereunto is added a waightie
consideration, that in reasoning
the Courtier vseth many or few
words: if few, he doth not fit his
Lords

Lords intention, who many times gives him this access, for entertainment of the time which he desireth. In this case to walke too warily, besides that it makes a shew either of a severe or a dissembled nature, it gives no pleasing gust, but breeds a diffidence; if many wordes, a proud and wittie Prince, (such as we suppose the Prince worthie to be served by our Courtier instructed in this art) will easily see into his manners and affections, which happily with more profit might have been concealed, nor can this be but very hardly holpen, because the Courtier being to make answer to demands, and to persist in his discourse, so long as it shal please the Prince, it is almost impossible to go so couertly to worke, that truth it selfe glides
not,

not, or glanceth out sometime.
 And surely as loue is a most
 sweet torture, which oftentimes
 vnlockes the cabinet of bloud
 secreters, wherupon they are wont
 to say that, *il caldo del letto, dile-*
gua souuente il ghiaccio della taci-
turnita. The heat of the bed oft-
 times doth thaw the Ice of se-
 crecie, which husbands should
 in many things conceale: So
 from a minde not well establi-
 shed and made immouable a-
 gainst the windes of Courtly
 ambition, the pleasure of the
 matters conference steales ma-
 ny things from the seruant,
 which to their greater profit
 should haue beene better kept.

But for all this there are on
 the part affirmatiue, more liue-
 ly reasons and of greater force,
 because for certainty amongst
 all the passages offered to the
 Princes

Princes fauour, there is not one of them, that by a more plaine and easie way doth lead to our desired end than this, because it doth intrinsecate and make familiar, yet so far forth as a modest seruant may bee with a reuerenced master: It gives fit occasion & opportunity to beare his humors and affections, and to give an earnest & taste of our owne proper vertue and valor: a thing not of small regard with those who consider how many are in Court who through want of that commoditie to make their talent known vnto their Prince, keepe the same buried in sterilitie. Besides the reputation which it brings is held inestimable, not alone, because making profit of the Princes iudgement, hee cannot but bee commended also, who is thought

one thought worthy his domestick
 aine and familiar speech. But yet
 our much more in this, that because
 se it the Courtiers reputation consi-
 fa- sting in the fauor of the Prince,
 no- which in respect of other fauors
 re- we may terme *abilitie* and *power*
 oc- to pleasure others; it is most
 are cleere that this is chiefly expe-
 nd cted from those who haue li-
 ur bertie of often conference, and
 r: by consequence fit times to pre-
 ch sent the petitions and requests
 y of other men.

But aboute all the rest, more
 estimable, is the facilitie which
 groweth thereby, to diue and
 sound into the deepest thoghts
 & affections of his Lord, and to
 shew in himselfe a disposition
 and nature pliable and confor-
 mable thereunto. To this pur-
 pose I must not leaue to note;
 that for oftentimes in reasoning

G and

and like conference, the quicke and lively sharpnesse of the wit, or else the dulnesse and pouerty of spirit is discouered, it is a most necessarie obseruance, to marke and search of what kinde that of the Princes is heerein, because though it seeme verie reasonable, that by how much the more the officers are of spirit, life and capable of euerie command, by so much they should bee more respected and held more deare : yet shall you finde some kind of Princes, that as they will flie the extremity of folly in followers, so are they better pleased with a mediocritie & indifferency, then with this singularitie and superexcellency. Mark what *Cornelius Tacitus* speaketh of *Poppaeus Sabinus* : *Is modicus originis principum amicitia consulum ac triumphale de-*
cus

cus adeptus, maximisque provin-
cijs per quatuor & viginti annos
impositus, nullam, ob eximiam ar-
tem, sed quod par negotijs, neq̃ su-
pra erat. He was but of meane
 parentage, yet through the fa-
 vour of Princes, that is of *An-*
gustus and *Tiberius*, he obtained
 the honour of Consulship, and
 triumphed, being gouvernour of
 many great provinces for foure
 and twentie yeares, not for any
 great skill that abounded in
 him, hauing so much as was on-
 ly equall to his imploiments,
 and no more. And this grow-
 eth either of feare, lest from
 these excellent wits some thing
 might be plotted against their
 gouernment, or of shame to be
 vnder them in vertue, ouer
 whom they are in fortune, or
 lest their actions should bee
 censured and their affections
 G 2 knowen,

known, though arteficially shadowed: Or suspecting to want rewards answerable to their deserts and which might satisfy their expectation, knowing that high spirits, aime not at base and vulgar marks; Or (in fine) for some other hard and impenetrable cause. It is therefore manifest, that it behoueth the Courtier to be well aduised, and with circumspection to proceed and present himselfe with such maner of speech vnto the Prince, as he perceiuethe may please his humour; whereupon, confidence will easily succeed, by vertue and meanes whereof many imploiments not belonging to his charge shall be conferred vpon him, and next by consequence, the chiefeest secrets, according to the qualities which by little and little

little the Prince shall discover in him, and this is the way and meanest to enlarge the confines of his particular service in the Court : next vnto the which followeth in proportionable course the possession of that favour, which with so great labour is procured.

Therefore as this occasion is greatly to be desired, so is it necessary to teach the meanes to make vse therof, which we will diligently doe, when we shall by answer haue cleered the difficulties on the contrary part set downe in the beginning. To the first therefore we say, that of two euils it is good to auoide the worst; wherefore the apparent favour of a Princes conference may breed enuy, yet is this much better, then by such scruple or feare to lose the occasion

cation of greatest efficacy (that
 is, to insinuate himselfe into the
favour of his lord) which a long
 and tedious course of servitude
 can afford; besides that *multa*
Ann. 15. *experiendo fiunt, quæ segnibus ar-*
dua videantur: Many things by
 aduventure are brought to passe,
 which vnto the slothfull cow-
 ards doe seeme hard. And who
 well obserueth the courses of
 principalities and courts shall
 finde that true which *Tacitus*
Ann. 4. saith; *Dommandi spes in arduo,*
ubi sis ingressus adesse studia &
ministros, steps to soueraignty
 are hard, but once entred vpon,
 both fauourers, furtherers and
 followers are present, but espe-
 cially & particularly vnto those
 who are not sorted onely with
 fortune and audacity, but gui-
 ded & accompanied with iudg-
 ment and wisdom. Thus
 much

much we say when enuy cannot be conquered, vnto which purpose wee will heereafter giue more necessary aduertizements. To that difficulty of hatred (of easie growth by the opinion of reports and bad offices) we say, that who will be friend to all, pleasing, and at least no apparent pretendor, gentle and officious, shall easily finde remedy against this conceit; & particularly if he shall in effect abstaine from so hatefull an action, whereof in his due place we will abundantly speake. Next followeth the danger he may incur with the Prince in case of being too brief or too large in speech, wherein he must take counsell of nature, who is scarce and sparing of words vnto some, & vnto others too abundant and plentifull, aduising to correct

natures defect by the helpe of art, giuing suppliment to want, & abatement to abundance, by a iudicious prescription, which in such like cases must bee the truest leuell, and wherewith he must be fully fraught, who pretends to port himselfe in the chiefeft harbour of his Princes fauour. But as touching the vnadvised manifesting his defects or discouering some thing elie that might be dangerous, we answer: this art is not set down to men of so slight a stufte, that are not masters of their owne conceits, and who cannot shelter or defend themselues (if at least they cannot auoid and hide the same) in such sort, as with silence to ouerpasse that which for their profit must bee kept in secrecie. But vnto such as must be apt to sincke into the inmost parts

parts
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parts of his Prince, by meanes
of things connext in one, or
many speeches : forming vnto
himselfe by vertue of them, cer-
taine conclusions, the which if
not demonstratiuely and by ne-
cessitie, yet at least by conie-
cture, and other obseruations
taught before, may giue notice,
what are his inclinements, plea-
sures, and cogitations; so that he
may as well wisely detect his
closest designs, as shunne the
danger to bee detected by the
Prince, although it cannot bee
denied, the Commander to
haue the aduantage in this espi-
al and discouery, as he to whom
it doth belong to interrogate,
continue or to change discourse
at pleasure : yet these things do
not conclude, that to haue of-
ten access to speake with the
Prince is not very profitable

and to bee desired by the Courtier.

CHAP. XV.

*How many and what be the kinds
of speeches or discourses the
Courtier is to haue
with his Prince.*

SINCE to speake generally in matters of action is not so profitable, as by so much as we may to come vnto particulars; it is necessarie that we treat in speciall of the kinds of speeches which the Courtier may haue with his Prince, and in euery of them giue those aduertisements which are fit profitably to passe them. But to do this, we must first see how many & what these kinds be, wherein not proceeding in a strict and philosophical maner, but rather conformable

mable to common capacity, the
 thing in my opinion will not be
 very hard. Wherefore without
 keeping so precisely the pre-
 cepts of diuision (one of the har-
 dest things in humane vnder-
 standing) wee will say, that wee
 talke or reason with the Prince,
 either for his pleasure and de-
 light, to ouerpasse that time of
 leasure for recreation from the
 toils of ordinary affaires belon-
 ging to his state and calling, &
 these we call speeches of enter-
 tainment; or else our talke with
 him is limited to some end ei-
 ther of a thing done, or to bee
 done, and which belongeth to
 his honour, interest or state, and
 these we call conference of *state*.
 All others, if any such there be,
 are reduced vnder these two.
 Of the which, because those of
State are most important, wee
 will

will handle them in the first place, and those of *Entertainment* afterwarde.

CHAP. XVI.

How to take opportunitie to induce a conference of state.

THe first consideration is concerning the maner how to induce or begin these conferences, the which are either touching the Princes interest, or things which in some sort belong vnto the *Courtiers* charge; and will easily giue an entrance to insinuation. But because every Prince, who for the variable multitude of his actions (will haue as reason requireth, some order) is vsed to diuide his time, appointing to certaine houres settled imployments, this thing must bee most diligently obserued,

ued, for that doing otherwise,
besides the molestation hee
should giue the Prince in disor-
dering of his course he shall re-
ceiue many times but little sa-
tisfaction, and get the name of
Busie-bodie. And if the businesse
haue no determinate and set
houre, it shall be good counsell
to reserue it vnto some of those
appointed for affaires, keeping
entire, so much as is possible, the
time of recreation, not onely
deare to euerie man by nature,
but specially necessarie vnto
those that with many toiles are
ouer-wearied. But if the affaire
bee extraordinarie and of im-
port, hee may securely change
the course, and alter the ap-
pointed houres, withall (so the
matter bee not of such waight,
that it is needfull of the Princes
instant knowledge) wee must
giue

give due space to those occasions, which either for healths sake, or safety of the life are fit to bee done, as times of diet, sleep or physicke, to auoid infirmities as well of body as mind, wherein to negotiate is forbidden.

CHAP. XVII.

What is to bee observed in the passing of this conference of state.

THe conuenient and fit time with speciall consideration being taken, and the houre of negotiating being come, the circumspect servant, must either first, or in the very instant, or so soone as may be, by himselfe or by some other means discover the moode & humor, that the Prince is in, for all are
not

not of *Tiberius* mind, of whom *Tacitus* saith, *Negotia pro solatijs accipiebat*, that tooke dispatches Ann. 4. for disports : and much lesse it may bee to finde him still in one minde, nor to haue the same motion to the same things. Wherefore discovering an indisposition to the businesse, either by some affect of his minde or body, it is expedient to re-
 straine the conference into as few termes as may bee, and to abridge the time, from being troublesome; for the ill disposition of the subiect with whom wee are to treat, is no lesse contrary to the happie successe of the businesse, then is an vntimely houre. I vnderstand this of affaires which necessarily must passe, and needs bee heard, because in others, whose scope and end are the benefit

nestit or profit of our friends, or
 else containe some desired fa-
 vour, wee must of necessity a-
 waight *fandi molles aditus*, easie
 entrances of speech, and there-
 fore reserue them till there be a
 composed, quiet & settled mind
 willingly disposed to giue audi-
 ence, a thing which very seldom
 falleth out with some, who are
 so austere and sterne, that it is al-
 most impossible euer to find ei-
 ther fit houre or humor to con-
 ferre with them. Such are men
 giuen to their pleasures & passe-
 times, besides the which they
 thinke on nothing else: and such
 are men cholerick by custom or
 by nature, in whom either age or
 practise in managing affaires
 hath not bred a gentler temper.
 But if the Prince bee well dispo-
 sed, then must the Courtier en-
 deuour himselfe that the busi-
 nesse

nesse whereof hee is to speake
(for somuch as belongeth vnto
him) beaptly and commenda-
bly set downe and handled. For
the knowledge whereof he shall
vnderstand, that to negotiate
with a Prince, may consist either
in laying open or declaring
some fact or seruice done, to the
end he consider thereof as hee
thinkes good; or manifesting
some businesse, to the end to
receiue order for the execution
and performance. And heerein
also is contained the fauours or
recompences which either for
himselſe or others are deman-
ded, and in the one or the other
the opening or concealing his
opinion; or finally in declaring
the maner of execution and
performance of some action,
which is commonly called a
Relation. Wherefore in the re-
lating

lating any thing whatsoever we must first and chiefly haue regard to truth, aswell for the integrity, duty and faith due by euery honourable Courtier vnto his Prince, as because hee may make a more commendable resolution, knowing that from false principles in good consequence a true conclusion is neuer gathered: next there is requisite *apparancy*, to ease the vnderstanding of the Prince, and lighten the burthen of the businesse and *brevity*: Not to keepe him troubled ouerlong hauing otherwise many diuertions of importance. Next in receiuing directions for the executing of any thing, either by himselfe or others, there is required not onely a diligent attention of the mind, rightly and presently to take the same, without

out necessity of repetition, because this, besides the trouble, would breed an opinion in the Prince, of incapacity, and withall a want of memory and retention, to performe the same answerable to the intent of the commandement.

But of all the rest, there is none of more import, than the charge to giue aduice and shew his opinion vpon any thing:

Nam suadere principi quod oportet, multus laboris, saith Tacitus, Lib. I. hist.

it is a hard taske to perswade a Prince to doe that hee ought.

Whereupon it is necessarie to note not to deale therein but by command, when the bond of your office doth not require it, and howsoever it is fit to vse modesty, not to seeme too wise, and by all meanes possible to auoid obstinacy in your owne conceipts

conceits, especially against the opinion and iudgement of the Prince. There is heerein required wisdome as the mother of all good counsel, and a demonstratiue inclination of loue towards him, to the end that with the more facility, he may receiue that which is propounded for your profit.

Lastly, in declaring things already executed you must vse *truth, plainnesse*, & al that good *Rhetoricians* set downe to make a worthy relation. But to all these things there are two most important aduertizements yet to be added; the first is *Secrecie*, because without that, in vaine is the Princes confidence procured, whose thoughts and intentions, by so much as is possible, must be kept concealed, as well for the inconueniences which

which may grow thereby, as
 for your own reputation, which
 will be so much the greater, as
 these shall bee the more occult
 and secret. The other is, not to
 vse too great curiosity, in di-
 uing deeper into the Princes
 thoughts, then is conuenient,
 or hee thinks fit to reueale, re-
 membring that, *abditos princi-*
pis sensus, & si quid occultius parat,
exquirere, illicitum anceps: To be
 busie in quest of Princes secret
 thoughts, or what vnlawful drifts
 they haue in hand, is both dan-
 gerous and doubtfull. And for
 certaine many haue erred heer-
 in, whereof haue followed con-
 trary effects to their desires,
 because seeking by this meanes
 to lincke and inward them-
 selues more strictly, they haue
 oftentimes as too nice and cu-
 rious been. excluded all waigh-
 ty

ty affaires. And this is as much as I thinke fit to speake concerning *Conference of State*; now followeth that of *Entertainment*.

CHAP: XVIII.

How to induce conference of Entertainment.

BY how much these conferences seem least necessary, by so much the skill and art to profit by them is the more laborious, the which notwithstanding must bee exactly kept and put in practise for the benefit which followeth therof, because happily these open more the way to *Confidence*, than those of *State*. The reason is, because these being induced & brought in by choice and for pleasure, bring forth many times by their

their continuance, such delight and sweetnesse to the Prince, that willingly hee riterates the same, and by little and little, laing aside Princely severity, begins by this familiarity to proportionate the Courtiers condition neerer to that of his state, and in time breeds a disposition to participate and impart vnto him many things, and so successfully doth enable him to take knowledge of his most secret thoughts ; either hid from others, or onely knowne by reason of their offices , not by free election of good liking, and therefore it may be not so fully imparted.

Wherefore occasion of such conference with the Prince may rise, either of his owne nature, who will daine the familiaritie of his seruants, respectiue in termes

termes and degrees to the one and other conuenient, or by some incident occasion, as time and place affoordeth many, or by the Courtiers qualities. And surely if the Prince be of nature conuersable with his seruants, the way to discourse and talke with him will bee plaine and needs no art at all : since either himself by demanding, recounting or propounding will offer occasion of entertainment. In these accidentall conferences there can no rule be giuen ; and that which in them is to bee aduertized, shall be noted in speaking of the occasions which the quality of the *Courtier* may offer, whereof wee will now begin to treat.

Since then these speeches are brought in for the pleasure and entertainment of the Prince, it is cleare,

cleare, that willingly hee would
 passe them with euill and well
 speaking persons, full of nouel-
 ties and pleasant deuices to am-
 plifie and prolong a discourse.
 To be loquut and concerted is a
gift of nature; which receiveth
little helpe by arte, howbeir ma-
 ny haue attempted to giue pre-
 cepts of urbanity and merri-
 ment. The disposition also and
 ability of speaking well, is
 brought likewise from the mo-
 thers wombe, but heerein with-
 out all doubt Art hath a speciall
share; since that if by a glibbe
 tongue and a hot temperature
 of the braine well fraught with
 naturall conceits; there be ad-
 ioyned a knowledge of many
 things: the arte of apt & proper
 speech ioined with that which
 more importeth and helpeth
iudgement and discretion, with-
 out

out all difficultie he will prooue commendable and excellent in discourse.

Nouelties are gotten by curiositie, and though with a learned Prince, doctrine and reading be great helpers heerunto, he must not for all this, neglect the knowledge of such things as daily do occur, aswell within as without his dominions, so that the matter of these discourses may bee sufficiently ready at hand; because the disburdened Prince, allured by such like qualities will take occasion to discourse with him for the time he shall stand free from greater cares. But for that it is no lesse necessary to offer meat vnto the queasie and weake stomacks for natures sustenance, than to the hunger-starued mawe, and by deuice of artificiall smels and
exquisite

exquisite delicacies, prouoke
 their appetites : the prouident
 Courtier, at houres most fit and
 time conuenient, be it either af-
 ter meales, when not to hinder
 true concoction by withdraw-
 ing the vitall spirits from the
stomack, it is ouerruled by Phy-
sicke, that for a while our minds
have leaue to play, or at some
 other time when hee shall spie
 the Prince at leisure (to which
 purpose diligent attendance in
 the *presence* much importeth)
 hee must insinuate and mooue
 some of those things which hee
 shall find most apt to please his
 taste and giue delight, which if
 he once perceiue (by vacancy
 of greater thoughts) hee take
 well, then may he goe on safely
 and with dexterity glide from
 one thing to another as com-
 monly is vsed in long talke. But

H 2 if

if there shall bee no disposition,
 as quickly a nimble eied Cour-
 tier will perceiue, noting his a-
 ctions, bowed downe with
 waighty thoughts, or silent not
 willing to answer, or vsing bre-
 uity to whats proposed, or else
 (in sum) to chop off occasion,
 cut off multiplicity of words,
 then, *hast*, he must retire, and
 look for better opportunity, or
 more besitting humour in the
 Prince, or seeke some accident
 which oftentimes fals out, either
 by some flying newes, or chan-
 ces happening in the city, court
 or other countries, which ei-
 ther by their owne nature, or
 some interest which hee may
 haue in them may giue him tast
 or moue him lend an eare to vn-
 derstand what is discoursed
 or variably thought
 abroad.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

*The order that must be kept
in conferences of enter-
tainment.*

IT followeth that howsoever there bee an induction of these conferences, to aduertise the Courtier what hee is to obserue therein, to make profit by the same: wherefore we say, that the scope of these speeches is to please the Prince, the action is talke, hee must then by meanes of wordes and reasoning endeavour to entertaine & delight his Prince: and to speak generally, it is notorious, that pleasantnesse and iesting commonly are delightfome, though it bee true, that in this course there be danger of slipping into scurrilitie spurd forward by that vnbrideled desire of ambition,

to see the Prince rest satisfied without delights; which pernicious blocke by al meanes must bee remoued, by those whose aime is honour and reputation, because the profession of a Letter brings with it too base and ignoble estimation; wherefore it is necessarie with great discretion to limit bounds vnto this merriment. Besides the report of news and occurrences which neither molest the minde, nor breed any trouble for any interested affection, there are other subiects very delightfome in these discourses & conferences, whereof the pleasure which they yeeld giues testimonie: which is not alone out of histories, but out of Poets and well digested fictions, which we see hearkened vnto and read with greedinesse. But because the
condition

condition of humane nature is such, that wee are not all of one relish, or at all times in one mood (as wee haue oftentimes said) it importeth very much to know the Princes inclination, and more particularly his humour then predominant, when wee are to speake with him: to the knowledge whereof the accidents of that day, the matters handled, or the reports made vnto him, help very much, because it will be very easie to accommodate our talke vnto his taste, knowing that louers willingly talke of their loue (but this with a caution, that there bee no circumstance of diffidence or distrust which may remoue his minde from entrance into like discourse), souldiers of warres, the learned of letters, and the wrathfull of reuenge &

iniurie, and so of the like naturall or incidentall qualities and humors in the Prince, because that doing thus, (but so that the cunning bee covert) himselfe will minister matter of discourse and be delighted to enlarge the same: yet must you vnderstand that these obseruations are meet in cases of recreation and pleasure, because in those of griefe and sorrow (besides that these were seruiceable for introduction) the minde afflicted would affoord more ease; for sorrow seemes to bee succoured by breathing forth her woes. But you must herein deuise with iudgement and dexterous regard, either how to diuert and turne these troubled thoughts of the Prince some other way, by application of things more pleasing, if at least you see him

not

not willing to persist therein, or
 else to give him some shew that
 you condole & haue a feeling of
 his sufferance, or by continuing
 it, if you see the Prince bee so
 pleased, because the power and
 will to prosecute, cut off, or
 change a speech vpon euery
 subiect and in euery case, is pro-
 perly the Princes due, the *Cour-*
tier being bound to second him
 and follow where his wil in con-
 ference shall lead the way; for o-
 therwise there would follow
 contrary effects to his desires, it
 being very well knowen, that
 the minde doth no lesse abhor
 to reason of these things wher-
 unto the will doth not incline;
 than to worke or execute any
 thing forced and a-
 gainst the
will.

C H A P. XX.

Of praise and flatterie.

AMongst all the things that can be obserued to be pleasing vnto any man with whom we shall conferre, there is none of more efficacie or greater force than *Commendation* or *Praise*, whereof an excellent *Greeke* giues good testimonie, who being demaunded what communication of al other best pleased him, auerred with an asseueration, That which contained his commendations, whereof the *Courtier* must take notice to obserue the same euen till hee come to the confines of *Flattery*, framing to himselfe this maxime & assured rule, that *Commendations*, or in defect thereof as wanting matter praise-worthy

thy, an *easy flatterie* is necessa-
 rie to whomsoever serueth. And
 although in *Tacitus*, *Seneca Lib. 15.*
saith, Non sibi promptum in adu- Ann.
lationes ingenium, idque nulli ma-
gis gnarum quam Neroni, qui sa-
pientiam libertatem Seneca, quam ser-
uitutem expertus esset: He had no
 readie wit for flatterie, which
 no man better knew than *Nero*,
 who had had oftener triall of
Senecaes libertie than of his ser- *Seneca a*
 uitude in speech, it is but the te- *better Philo-
 stimonie of no good Courtier, *sophor than*
 neither in reason may we take it *courtier.*
 for authoritie, his end making
 it very manifest, that happily
 he had not so great knowledge
 in matters of philosophie, as he
 wanted skill in the Courtiers art.
 I meane not now that by an ab-
 iect and base flatterie he should
 insinuate himselfe into the Prin-
 ces fauor, since he must haue his
 etc*

Lib. I.

bist.

eie alwaies fixed on the marke
 he aimeth at, which is *credit*,
 and *honourable reputation*, which
 neuer ioyne in companie with
 flatterie, wherein saith *Tacitus*,
turpe crimen seruitutis inest, there
 is the foule sinne of seruitude.
 But it is necessary to walke vpon
 such paths, as hardly will bee
 found by him who takes not for
 his guide before he enters in, a
 grounded iudgement to dis-
 course on them. Wherefore I
 thinke it worth the while, and
 not superfluous to speake some
 thing of this matter for the full
 instructions of our *Courtier*; yet
 because we can discourse of no-
 thing, nor giue rules, if first wee
 know not what our subiect is,
 we hold it fit to begin vpon this
 ground, saying, that *Adulation*
 generally is an honour, which ei-
 ther deservedly or undeservedly is
 giuen

Flattery
 what.

given by the inferior unto the superior, to the end to please him for his owne benefite or interest. And this for the present shall bee the definition, the which wee leaue to examine as not proper to this place, and only tie the consideration to our purpose : wee say also that commendations or praise is an honour done with wordes, and vnder this kinde flatterie is contained, whereof we must speake in this place, supposing it to be a false praise amplified, to the end aforesaid, the which because it is little to purpose in this our treatise, we will heere serue our turnes only with the first part, wherein the most inward and essentiall nature thereof is contained, that is, that it is a Commendation : then will wee examine the differences, which are false or amplified.

Insomuch

Inſomuch then as it is *Praiſe* or *Commendation*, it is neceſſary that it fall vpon ſome good part in the Prince, ſince the obieſt of praiſe is good parts. The good parts (becauſe it is now no time to play the Phyloſopher) wee ſay are of three ſorts, of the minde, the body, and the externall. The good parts of the minde are vertue and the naturall powers and faculties, becauſe we doe not onely praiſe temperance, fortitude, liberalitie, &c. but a *pregnant* and *quicke* underſtanding, a vigilant and prouident minde; and becauſe theſe are ſometimes the efficient cauſe, or cauſe conſervant of the outward parts, it followeth that praiſing the externall parts wee commend alſo the cauſes of them. But to conclud, the principall commendations
and

and most of all to be desired, is that of the vertues of the mind: true it is that these are not of all men alike prized and esteemed, there being many who had rather be commended for wealth, power and honour, than for wisdom, magnanimity and beneficence; nay there be some so blind of vnderstanding, that had rather be accompted faire, comely, agile and gallant of body, than more or as learned as *Aristotle*, or eloquent as *Cicero*; and who doubteth but that it was more gratefull and pleasing to *Nero* the praise of his singing than whatsoever other commendation either of temperance, modesty or iustice? And questionlesse if any man should take vpon him to adde vnto the female sex, all those commendations and applauses,

Inſomuch then as it is *Praise* or *Commendation*, it is neceſſary that it fall vpon ſome good part in the Prince, ſince the object of praiſe is good parts. The good parts (becauſe it is now no time to play the Phyloſopher) wee ſay are of three ſorts, of the minde, the body, and the externall. The good parts of the minde are vertue and the naturall powers and faculties, becauſe we doe not onely praiſe temperance, fortitude, liberalitie, &c. but a pregnant and quicke vnderſtanding, a vigilant and prouident minde; and becauſe theſe are ſometimes the efficient cauſe, or cauſe conſervant of the outward parts, it followeth that praiſing the externall parts wee commend alſo the cauſes of them. But to conclude, the principall commendations
and

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ses, that pleasing eloquence
 could figure or paint out, but
 ✓ would abate their beauty out of
 it, I thinke there is none but
 knowes, how welcome and how
 gratefull such honor should be
 to any woman. Wherefore
 though the true and real com-
 mendations is principally to be
 attributed to the aboue named
 good parts, it is notwithstanding
 very necessary, if the cour-
 tier will commend with profit
 & to be pleasing, that he praise
 that whereunto he sees the
 Prince most inclined and best
 to satisfie himselfe, vrging this
 as a thing of most speciall im-
 portance, aiding himselfe, with
 the knowledge of his nature,
 custome and inclination.

There is yet an other aduer-
 tisement of great consequence,
 for the better vnderstanding
 whereof

whereof we say thus, that it is cleere, praise and commendation is naturally desired of every man, the reason is, because there is in all men an innated desire of perfection, the which not alone in it selfe is most acceptable and gratefull, but with a particular pleasure makes those things to bee received which give testimony thereof, no otherwise, thā as we see, that the comming to passe of such things which we haue longingly desired, not only to be pleasing vnto vs, but withall, euen the messenger of such newes is very acceptable, and oftentimes munificently rewarded for his tidings : and therefore by the same reason whosoever commendeth vs, as a witnesse of our perfection, is beloued of vs. But as in all ratifications false testimonies

monies are by vs greatly hated, in like manner are vnttrue commendours, who once knowen for such, doe highly displease vs, because we seeme not to receiue commendations or testimony of any perfection, which we know to be farre from vs, but rather an vpbraiding that wee are not such as they would make vs seeme to bee; besides the deformity of the falshood which is discovered in them, whereupon we gather the small confidence that wee may giue vnto them in any other thing, as false and mendacious, besides the disgrace they fall into, as base and vulgar persons. Of all this thus much may be gathered, that we must not only be considerate in cōmending, not to incur suspicion of falshood, but withall that it
is

is not alwaies true that *Galba* is reported to say in *Tacitus*, that, *adulatio erga Principem quem-* Lib. I.
hist.
cumque sine affectu peragitur.

Flattery or assentation to what Prince soever, is done without affect. Wherefore we say, that the commendations being to bee credited, it is necessary to ground the same vpon some vertue or good part really and in trueth existing in the Prince, or at least in opinion thought to be in him, and what commendable parts are in the prince hee may easily know, who hath that notice of him, as we suppose the *Courtier* should haue: but of which of them the Prince makes most esteeme, must by obseruance bee learned, noting, that for the most part we thinke our selues best indued with those things whereof we
make

make profession; the musitian, of singing well, the Philosopher of the perfect knowledge of naturall causes, the Souldier of the arte of warre; wherein being praised we easily beleue it, & willingly accept it. Those which are proper to a Prince, are, wisdom, iustice, magnificence, riches, power, glory, and such like vertues, and qualities belonging to a person of so high degree, from whence groweth an affect, which wee call veneration, which doth meet or encounter his perfection, and is as a testimony (as wee haue said of *praise*, and should say of all *honour*) of the good parts which we esteem to be in him; the which testimony by how much it is giuen in greatnesse, by so much is it thought his abilities and qualities

ties doe exceed. Of this kinde
is that of *Seianns*, when he saith, *Lib. 4.*

Se ita insueuisse, ut spes, vota que Ann.

sua non prius ad Deos quam ad
principum aures conferret: The

great signes and expectation
of *Tiberius*, had framed such a
custome in him, that he would
not sooner offer vp his hopes
and vowes to the gods, than
vnto the eares of Princes, the
which adulation could not with
more cunning haue beene set
downe, because hee doth not
only compare, but preferres his
Prince before the gods in a
thing easily to be credited: and
so shewing that which is too
common in experience, that
there bee some so affectionate
& deuote in their Princes ser-
uice, that forgetting their due
recourse to God, lay the whole
burden of their hopes vpon
the

the fauour of their Lord.

But because what hath beene said hitherto, consisteth in the credit and testimony that the person of the Prince and his vertues or good parts do yeeld, we must no lesse consider how to draw some beleefe and trust from the person of the Courtier: and surely there is faith giuen to such whom wee take to bee of a free and open nature and who make shew of that in speech which is within the inclosure of their heart. This opinion is particularly gotten by reprehending, for whosoever falsely commendeth, doth it (as we haue said) for his owne profit; but who freely reprocueth, sheweth he hath no minde of other respect or interest, neither will by curring fauour giue place a iot from his true meaning.

ning. Wherefore an ingenuous
and free reprehension is alwaies
accompanied with credit & au-
thority. Tis true that in this par-
ticular we must remember this
maxime, which saith, *Quando*
peffimis Imperatoribus sua sine
dominationem, ita quamvis egre-
gijs modum libertatis placere.

Tac. lib.
4. hist.

As an euerlasting rule is plea-
sing euen to the woorst Empe-
rours, so doth a modest kind of
liberty in reprehension please
the greatest, because if the
Courtier passe those bounds in
reproouing, hee may easilie
coniecture, what effects would
follow a serious speech that
biteth. *Si facetia ubi multum*

Lib. 15.
Ann.

ex vero traxere, acrem sui memo-
riam relinquunt : If ietls when
they cary much truth with them
do leaue a bitter memory. Hee
must therefore dispraise in a sup-
portable

portable maner , and that may seeme rather a kind of praise, than a iudicious censure : which thing woorthy of speciall obseruation is done, not in reprocuing vices , but the excesse of some vertue , yet with this aduertizement, not to expresse or name the excesse, by those extreames which otherwise indeed are vices, and prejudiciall to others, but by those termes only which are damageable to the agent, with the profit of others. As for example, it is a vertue to be accessible and willing to giue audience, and not easily wearied in dispatches ; if then one should say vnto the Prince, that through too vehement a desire to satisfie others, hee ouerchargeth himselfe both in mind and body to the prejudice of his health wherof he hath no due respect ; hee should

should reprove him with a kind of flattery. Sobriety and temperate abstinence is commendable ; who now would shew that he offendeth in being too strict in dangering his health, should smoothly admonish him, and worke two notable effects, one, that by the reproofe he gaineth credit, the other that he discovers an affection and interest in the Princes health: But these obseruations cannot bee put in practise but by a witty, prouident and wise Courtier, who if sometimes with an expression or shew of griefe, or a light anger he ioin these admonishments it will greatly increase his credit, because such affections of freedome and plainnesse would wholly remooue and extinguish all suspicion of dissimulation, whereunto also will adde

I very

very much the auoiding of all affectation, and shunning this *decorum* and *seeming-wise-grauitie*, in your reprehensions. But aboue all, the most assured way to settle and gaine credit, is alwaies and in all your actions to shew your selfe such as you pretend, that the Prince may haue this conceit of you, that you are an ingenuous, free, and plaine man. And this is so much as I hold may be obserued in *praise* and *flatterie*, adding this as a note, that true praise when there is matter and subiect for it, is to be preferred, and in defect or want therof, to haue immediate recourse to adulation or flatterie, the which consisteth in a little amplifying or enlarging, and is not altogether disioyned from perfect commendations: But when there is no matter
at

at all to worke on, it is lawfull to helpe your selfe with that kinde which makes an attribute of some good parts where none are, yet with that caution and circumspection which wee before haue signified.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the soundings and trials which Princes sometimes vse with their Courtiers.

Such is the maner then to spraise, and such the rule to temper your conference vnto the Princes taste, the which by often giuing occasion therof, opens the passage to make a large progresse into his fauour, for that the speech being a speciall testimonie of our other vertues and abilities, if happely he take a pleasure in talking with

I 2 his

his Courtier, and finde sufficiencie and aptnesse in him of performance of such things which doe concerne him neere, it is not vnlikely but hee may imploy him in the same, whereby he may obtaine some extraordinarie grace, because some time such seruices are committed, which cause a full possession of an entire confidence; and such particularly are the excesses or extreames of some affections: As of *ambition* in procuring some high degree of honour; or of *couetousnesse*, gaping after gaine, or of *wrath*, thirsting for immoderate reuenge, or of *loue*, longing impatiently for the fruition thereof: And these I note but for the present, as principall affections and passions, in the which who is imployed may without great difficultie

difficultie ouerrule & triumph
in the fauour of his Prince. But
this fals out most commonly
in some amorous motion, that
is, because this affection stray-
ing farther then any other, from
the pathway of reason, of ne-
cessitie there riseth more exor-
bitant accidents, either because
they are more potent in disturb-
ing, whereby with a greater ar-
dencie the object is desired: or
because seldome it fals out, that
the pleasure & possession of the
partie beloued, can be obtained
without some actions, which
disrobing the Prince of decency
and decorum, make him fashi-
on himselfe to the condition of
the Courtier, in such sort that
there followeth a familiaritie as
betweene equals. And true it is,
that these performances not fal-
ling vnder the bond of serui-
tude,

tude, and there following necessarily an election or choice, they are not sleightly committed as the other seruices which are ordinarie and of dutie, but with a carefull regard & a precedent knowledge of the intention, which the Courtier hath to performe and execute the same: whereupon the circum-spect Prince finding him an apt instrument for his desire, resolving to lay the burden of the businesse on his confidence, will proue and feele by conference, if hee commanding shall finde him ready and obsequious: and this is done by some with more, by some with lesse aduisednesse, according to the iudgement & dexteritie of the agent, whereupon it followeth, that hauing these employments, it is a molt easie, and an assued entry into the
the

the possession of desired grace: It is also very necessary iudiciously to enable your selfe to vnderstand his very signes and becke (things which arte cannot instruct without a naturall perceurance) and those conceaued, to make that profit of them that belongeth. But because Princes many times speak not that sincerely nor frō within, which outwardly in talk they make a shew of, but rather to sound and vndermine the nature and qualitie of their seruants, make their triall by severall meanes; it is a thing of speciall note therefore, to be heerein well aduised, and able to perceiue when the Prince reasoneth sincerely, & when couertly, for the better knowledge whereof I hold the discourse following not vnprofitable.

CHAP. XXII.

*Meanes how to distinguish and
come to the knowledge
of these trials.*

IF these assaies shall be made by Princes of small experience, it will bee no great labour for the Courtier to discover them, but because wee haue presupposed he is to deale with a person circumspect and cautelous, we say, that the first difficultie is, to haue a feeling that he is felt, or rather to vnderstand and peize the full waight and meaning of euery word the Prince shall speake, it being cleere, that discourses to this end, will passe vailed vnder figuratiue and ambiguous speeches, not much vnlike to *Oracles*, concluding with such obscure

scuritie and clowdinesse, that the disciphering and conceit of them wil be very difficil to him whom nature hath not giuen a wit more pregnant, sharpe and prouident, than to the ordinarie. Wherefore this first point falls out within the compasse of our arte, because to be heedy & watchfull, is not a thing that precepts can affoord, if nature list not to be bountifull. But vnderstanding the force of the wordes, and perceiuing this treaty is but to tempt, Art herein may yeeld great help, in discovery betweene a true and fained triall, that is, which of them the Prince doth to the end to vse the Courtiers helpe therein, if happily he accept the charge, and which of them, but for discovery of his inclinations and affections.

First therefore when the Prince purposeth but to feele or vndermine, his desire is onely the knowledge of the Courtiers intentions, whereupon because he hath the greater interest, he doth it with the more regard and lesse feare, but hauing a minde actually to command and impose some charge from which the Courtier may perchance retire himselfe, hee tries him then more bashfully and more warily: heereof it follows that these *Soundings* are made with more circumspection and more obscuritie, so that not finding the foord pasable, it shall be in the Princes power to step backe without danger of discouerie. The other *Vnderminings* which are vndertaken by dissimulation, & falsly, are only done to winne the knowledge of the
Courtiers

Courtiers nature, albeit they are no lesse by a wise Prince to be handled with great dexteritie & arte; yet because the impulsive cause bindes not so much, they are done somewhat more plainlie. This is then a probable signe how to distinguish of like *soundings* or *trials*.

But who would doe it yet more exactly, it is necessary he consider foure things, that is, the *nature* and *inclination* of the Prince, the *quality* of the thing, whereof the taste is given, the *present occasion* in respect of the Prince, and the *actions* by himselfe committed in that Court. How to come to the Princes nature and *inclination* (vnlesse I be deceiued) hath sufficiently in his place beene declared before. To vnderstand the *qualitie* of the thing, cannot bee of
that

that difficulty, that there should neede many precepts, and lesse doth it belong to this arte to set them down, but thus much may be said, that the nature and quality of the thing being perfectly knowen, wee must conferre the same with the propensity and inclination of the Prince, meditating whether any such disposition may in any likely-hood, ingender in him such a cogitation or desire of the same or such like thing. For example, who knowing the nature of the Prince to bee sterne, severe, temperatly giuen to his affairs, abhorring & detesting lasciuious pleasures, should finde him make a triall in motion, of amorous thoughts and passions of loue; might well suspect this motion to bee false, for that
comparing

comparing the cause with the nature of the Prince, he should not finde that sympathie or correspondence that belongs. Howbeit to this consideration, it were fit to ioyne that of accidents or occasions, because many times a naturall disposition by some euent or other chance, may be so changed, that who hath not speciall regard thereunto shall often be deceiued: as if to a Prince of a quiet pleasing nature, forgetfull of wrongs, there were some notable iniury offered whereby hee should bee much ingaged or stained in reputation, if hee should not by his best induours procure reuenge, or were it for some other speciall cause he must put on reuenge; hee should bee mightily deceiued, who either not knowing, or
not

not aduertising such accidents should ground his iudgement only in cōparing of the thing, that is, *revenge*, with the nature of the Prince : Wherefore the knowledge of *occasions* and of *accidents* which intercur, is very necessary for distinction of the feeling motions. And this may be obtained by a curious obseruation, the which (leauing as impertinent to search the secrets of his Prince) as a most profitable quality is highly to bee commended in the Courtier, for by knowing many things; he shall with the more facility take the better resolutions in many cases. And therefore we may not let slip in his fit place to set downe the meanes how with ease to come to the knowledge of all that is done and said in Court.

The

The consideration of the *Courtiers proper actions*, is also no lesse needfull in this distinction, for that either they are such, as easily discover his inward affections and naturall inclinations, & are taken as open and free, or else such as giue a shew of dissimulation, and seeme not of themselues sufficient to discover his intentions. Who then hath shewed himselfe free and plaine, hath no reason to suspect that he is felt or vndermined, for his minde or dispositions sake already presupposed to bee knownen by his actions; but rather to finde how he is inclined in the acceptance or refusall of the execution of that charge which may be imposed vpon him. On the other side, who hath carried himselfe circumspectly, hath more

more reason to beleue that the Prince doth sound him, to finde the depth of his conceits and humour ; yet heere we may not let to say , but that these plaine and open Courtiers may be tasted too, either in things wherein they are already known as inclining and disposed, or in their contraries. In those then wherein their disposition is already knowen , it is most true , these trials cannot be for their discovery, but it may well fall out in that which is the contrary , because though it seeme very probable, that the contrary disposition takes away all confidence to receiue any benefit by their seruice, notwithstanding, who is in a longing desire, vieth by all circumstances to giue his hope an easie passage not to finde a contradiction; and to conclude,

conclude , in the selfe same things may false alarmes and trials be made. For our minde being so full of larking corners, a man can neuer so well assure himselfe of anothers outward thoughts , that some scruple or ambiguitie will not still remain. But here we must make a distinction , because things openly professed, are either commendable or wicked : if they be bad, tis plaine, that for such we must take the disposition of the courtier that professeth them, as his actions shew for ; for he should be too great an *ignorant* , who hauing a vertuous bent and disposition, would maske it with a shew of vice and wickednesse, neither doth ciuill custome suffer it , as our *Moralists* report, who make it lawfull to the Artizans and Mechanists to doe
their

their worke by arte or without arte. But the Artificer of manners (if we may terme it so) must neuer chuse to doe any thing contrary to vertue; for otherwise he should neuer commendably be fashioned. Wherefore who openly makes shew to be enclined well, shall neuer falsly be attempted in his owne profession: yet those which do but giue a taste therof (as hath been sayd) may looke for triall now or then.

CHAP: XXIII.

What the Courtier is to do, knowing and perceiuing these soundings or trials.

AFTER the warie Courtier shall haue conceiued that the Princes conference was on-ly induced but to feele his pulse,
or

or bring him to the crucible of
his triall; and next, whether
this prooffe be really made to
make some vse of him, or but to
see of what mettle he is made:
it resteth to set downe how hee
is to gouerne himselfe fruitfull-
ly to make profit of such occasi-
on offered. Wee say then, that
by what already hath bene said,
it is well knownen to what acti-
ons the Courtiers dutie bindes
him, what actions are not con-
teined within the same, & what
are directly contrary vnto his
duty. Wherefore ioyning heere-
unto another distinction, that
is, of *false* or *true* trials, we may
say, that if these trials be known
for false, falling vpon things
contrary vnto duty in that kind
which may distaine his honour,
there is no doubt but resolutely
and without feare of offence he
may

may giue the repulse, denying that which with his honour hee can not grant vnto, and which hee knoweth not if seriouſlie motioned or desired, or rather it should be much to the purpose, to shew a mind abhorring all such thoughts. But this is when you know you are to deale with a Prince vertuously addicted: for if otherwise, you might put in practise the rule before let downe, of fitting your selfe vnto the Princes humour, shewing your selfe either artificially or truely to be like vnto him. And this may you doe in all things when these attempts shall be made for discoverie of your fashions onely; sith there growing no effect or action thereupon, there will be no danger of impeachment in honour: and besides, you shall notably

notably gaine the beneuolence and fauour of the Prince by this conformity of thoughts and inclination. But here riseth a difficultie, whereunto necessarilie consideration must be had, for discovering a disposition like vnto that of the Prince, even in matters of small commendations; if it shall giue an occasion of hope, that the Prince resolving to vse the helpe of the Courtier, hee might easily obtaine the same, a thing which following, in effect blotteth and staineth the authour of the worke, and denying it moues a disdaine in the Commander; and so much the greater, perceiuing himselfe deceiued by the Courtiers false dissembling speech. On the other side, to shew himselfe farre from the humour of the Prince, is not answerable

answerable to that discretion which hath beene said, must be vsed therein, for the better obtaining of his fauour: wherefore it seemeth best to keepe the middle path, neither to discover too great a woonder, or too great a nicenesse of those thoughts which we shall know in the Prince, either by naturall inclination or by accident; and no lesse altogether to seeme so pliable and conformable (particularly in those which are awaited on with little credit) as to giue him hope to find the Courtier at his pleasure, to be his instrument in them, although in some things which are repugnant to his proper benefit, or not comprized in the seruice belonging to a Courtier, hee must shew himselfe most ready, and more desirous of the Princes

ces satisfaction, than whatsoe-
uer profit of his owne. But if
the feeling motion be sincerely
made to vse the *Courtier* as a
minister in some thing, wherein
he is not compelled to discover
his own nature and inclination,
but only his will and agreement
to the command, hee must in
this also distinguish the matter
and the subiect; for if the com-
mand light on commendable
actions, although they be not
within the limits of his duetie,
but meerely contrary vnto his
profit, he must offer himselve
most prone and willing, remem-
bring that by how much his du-
dutie extends but vnto pettie
things, by so much the more
shall he oblige the Prince to be
answerable in loue and affecti-
on; since bounden-duties passe
but for paiment, but services
not

not due, haue place of benefit,
 of the which, all men know
 which is more acceptable. But
 all the difficulty consisteth in
 the resolution of that which
 ought to be done, when these
 foundings are in dishonorable
 things, or periudiciall to the
 marke or scope the Courtier
 chiefly aimeth at, in which case
 there is more lost by the perfor-
 mance, than can be got by ho-
 nest seruice of long time, and
 who pulles backe his aide and
 helpe heerein loseth the confi-
 dence and fauour of the Prince,
 it being cleere, that *graviorum*
scelerum, non modò ministri, as
Tacitus saith, sed etiam conscij,
tanquam exprobrantes aspiciun-
tur: Not onely the actors of
 great wickednesses, but such as
 were but made acquainted
 therewithall, are looked on as
 vpbraiders

Lib. 14.

Ann. 4.

vpbraiders of the same, and that especially when they shall deny their helpe, in the execution whereof wee may say heerein, that if there be not an error in the election of the Prince at first, this difficulty will not happen, because serving of a vertuous lord there is no cause to feare commandements leaning to dishonesty. But yet when either by the foresaid error, or by other accident, you shall finde your selfe in so doubtfull a case of counsell; then must the honorable Courtier by force of the obstinate anchor of vertuous purposes, resist the blasts of his Princes bad perswasions or commands, considering, that, by obeying him, his assured losse should far exceed the estimate of any gaine, which hee might looke for by his

K grace:

grace : yet will I not leaue to
giue aduertisment here, that in
this iudgement of the actions
which may seeme contrary to
his purpose, or hurtfull, or of
small reputation, the Courtier
must not with too seuerer a cen-
sure or a piercing eie examine
or behold the same, since many
things are permitted and suffe-
rable vnder the necessity of ser-
uice, so that they are not tainted
with that turpitude or ill, being
not performed by a free and
willing choice, or at least, not
with more then easily may bee
washed away, by the greatnesse
of the benefits, which by the
Princes fauour are many times
obtained : whereby it is cleere,
these scrupulous & nice Cour-
tiers can neuer procure confi-
dence, sith he merits no fauor,
that is so much friend to his
owne

owne commodity, that he will not at least breake a little of the stocke, but after a most miserable rate, will spend no more then meere necessity constrains him to. To conclude, I must say that all finnes are not mortall, and that to the dutie of service so much is pardonable, as may for the pleasure and service of his Prince bee done in some things, if not honorable, at least without such note of infamy, as in a person at full liberty could not be borne out without passing censure or incurring blame. Which these are, cannot particularly be pointed at, but the iudicious Courtier by himselfe may well conceive them, and chiefly since the worthinesse and waight of all actions consisteth in the verdict and opinion of men. So

that by what is commonly blamed in other which doe serue, either for denying with too great severity, or too too gently granting and assenting to the prince he may easily know what arts of seruice are truly to bee denied, and wherein securely he may please and giue satisfaction to his Lord. But when they are vnbecoming and vnfit to be put in practice, whosoever doth more esteeme his honour and reputation, (before the which (vertue excepted) there is nothing amongst men more estimable) than his Princes fauour, ought, at least, if not stoutly and boldly, yet reseruing tearmes of modesty and regard due betweene parties of vnequality, deny to be actor or minister therein, annexing to this deniall notwithstanding

ding all obsequious and humble duty that words can afford for iust excuse, to smooth and sweeten as much as may be, the bitterneffe which commonly doth follow such repulses, resolving firmly in his mind, that for what soeuer hope of benefit, to stand immouable in his commendable purpose, to doe or act nothing that may be prejudiciall or staine to his reputation, hoping rather that this might finde such force in the Princes minde, of a well inclined nature, a magnanimous & generous spirit, that even inamoured with the approoued goodnesse of his *Courtier*, hee will fashion him vnto his loue, and that which should haue beene a cause of hate may bee the begining of good will and fauour; a thing which though

rarely happening, yet is it possible, and sometimes comes to passe. Yet if this repulse take his true and usuall course, so that the Prince indeede conceive a hatred against the courtier, either because hee found him not resolute and prompt in that service, as he expected, or for knowing of it better then himselfe, & so by consequence more woorthy of his fortunes or his place, or else as hath been said before, because *graviorum facinorum non solum ministri, sed etiam conscij quasi exprobrantes aspiciuntur*. Then, he perceiuing the Princes slight regard and little fauour, it should be fit to take such course for remedy, as we heereafter in such cases shall set downe.

CHAP. XXIIII.

*Of the subsidiary aids and meanes
to obtaine the Princes
fauour.*

Hitherto hath beene declared, as I suppose, so much as a prouident, carefull & wise Courtier may worke of himselfe, to the end to obtaine his Princes fauour. And surely, if he shall obserue these precepts, seasoned with that discretion which the effecting of an enterprise (for many respects) so difficult and laborious doth require, it should be much and very strange, if he procure not what he hath proposed, since this alone and none other seemeth the beaten way, which most securely will leade vs to the possession of anothers fauour, the which yet if it should

be thought impregnable and inuincible by our proper forces, it is necessarie to call in aid vnto this assault, some voluntarie succours, seeking to procure that victorie by others meanes, which by our owne labor hardly we could haue purchased, to the end we let slip no meanes, or leaue any thing vnattempted which may seeme profitable any wayes vnto our purpose. Who therefore by himselfe can not attaine his Princes fauour, let him procure it by some other aids: but it is requisit that these stand graced with the Prince. Wherefore there are three sorts of persons who seeme apt vnto this vse; the Princes *kindred*, his *friends*, his *faouered seruants*. Of all these we must distinctlie speake apart, to the end the profit may be knowen, that may be drawn

drawen from them, and what
aduertisements are fit to be ob-
serued, that his labor may fruit-
fully be employed, and bring
forth that effect which is desi-
red, it being notorious, that all
things (saue vertue only) may
be either well or ill vsed; wher-
fore it is needfull to be skilfull
in the arte and vse of euery one,
so that they may be vsed con-
formable to that our chiefest
scope doth most require. It
must not therefore be thought
superfluous to entreat of these
meanes or helps, because in the
practise there do occurre many
things worthy speciall conside-
ration, which being vnknown,
their aid should be to small pro-
fit, or greater detriment of the
Courtier which shall vse them:
And because the instrument of
greatest force and efficacie, in

all reason, is that of the *kindred*, as most neere vnto the Prince both by the law of God & Nature; in the second place is that of *friends*, and in the last, the *Courtiers* or *faouered seruants*: in the same ranke wee will treat of them, beginning with the *kindred* first.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the helpe which may be drawn from the Princes kindred for procurement of his fauour.

IT is a work of nature not only to loue those vnto whom by neereneffe of bloud she hath conioned vs, but those withall who are by them beloued; wherefore if the Prince by this disposition bee not induced to entertaine the Courtier into his service,

service, at least the fauour of these kindred may giue occasion thereof, who vsing him in affaires which happely they haue in cōmon with the Prince, may by little and little insinuate and promote him into his service, or finally they may prefer him by intercession and mediation, which iustly may be held of so much efficacie as the condition of the party requiring the same is thought of worth, whereby the Courtier oftentimes in verie short space attaines to that which by a long course of service by himselfe he should hardly procure: besides to bee sheltered vnder the fauor of the kindred is a cause of his speciall reputation in the Court, through the abilitie hee may haue by means of them to hurt his enemies, and helpe his friends and
confi-

confidents. This then is profit, which by the fauour of the Princes kindred, may with great likelihood bee expected. But because so it hath pleased God almost in all things to make an intermixture of the good with the badde, and of profit with his contrarie, that he might bee the more commendable, who with discretion can make a difference, or wisely make his choice, wee must heerein consider some things, the which either neglected or not aduerted may turne to the great preiudice of the Courtier. Wee saie then that the Princes kindred are either men or women, and both the one and the other are either yoong or of competent age: As for the women if they be of tender and fresh yeeres, by familiarity with them first groweth

eth suspicion, which of it selfe were cause sufficient of the Courtiers overthrow, and chiefly by the occasion, which is offred to the enuious to misinterpret actions in so perillous a matter, and by suggestions still to giue greater cause of doubt. Besides this (howbeit, I presuppose the Courtier of honorable carriage, and friend to *right*, and therefore well resolved in himselfe) if wee must abstaine from other mens wiues or women, it is much more required towards those who are naturally conioined to the Prince in bloud; yet for all this, experience maketh it too plaine, that euen the most austere minded, & most firme and strongly settled in their purposes, haue oftentimes giuen place to the enticements of alluring occasions: and surely
he

he who knowes not how much the practises of a beautionous Dame may entender and mollifie the hardened minde of a man not yet surcharged with maturitie, giues signe of little knowledge in the worldes affaires, chiefly adding to natural inclination, a little spurre of ambitious vanitie, seeing also that a man may easily bee enticed by the occasion that fortune giues, so neerely to intrinsecate himselfe with persons so farre aboue the reach of his condition, to strengthen and vnire the hopes which happely by such like meanes they may conceaue; as we see in *Seianus*, who by the entrie and opportunitie which the familiaritie of *Drusus* wife gaue him, grew so confident to plot the death of the innocent husband, how to obtaine her to
his

his wife, and to be successor in
 in the Empire of *Rome*, things
 which most easely, though most
 wickedly, fall in imagination,
 but most especiall where the
 woman may be the instrument,
 whose honour once obtained,
 all things else are easily entrea-
 ted; for *Tacitus* saith wel, *Fæmi- Lib.4. X*
na amissa pudicitia alia non abnu- Ann.
erit. But on the other side, al-
 beit men should haue their
 mindes well fortified with con-
 tinencie, so that in themselues,
 as of their proper motion there
 were no feare, (though they as
 armed with such weapons, may
 lawfully presume some thing of
 their valor) the occasions which
 by the women themselues are
 offered, and the necessity which
 many times they do impose are
 specially to be considered; the
 examples are infinite, but that
 of

of Silvius in Tacitus, who was so farre beyond all bonds compelled by the vnbridled & headstrong lust of Messalina, that in the end he was enforced to take her to wife, almost vnder the nose of her husband Clavdius the Emperor, may serue as manifest enough in my conceit for a sufficient document and warning vnto others. But if through age there shall be such a ripenessse, so that there be no cause of feare in that behalfe, their fauour then in reason is much to be esteemed, considering how profitable vnto infinite the protection and authoritie of Livia was, with Augustus and Tiberius both.

Now as concerning the *menkinde*; if they be of yong yeers, and subiect to the errors which the heat of youth and vnexperience

riency of manie things doth bring with it, it is not amisse to abstaine from conuersing with them, or at least not ouermuch; for if they performe any thing iudiciously and praise worthie, it is attributed to the good disposition of their nature, and eue-ry one (a common accident to those of high degree, and Fortunes fauourites) applaud and giue the praise alone to them: but if they chance to slip awrie or erre in any thing, stepping aside, as yoong men are accustomed, presently the blame is laid either on the badde example or corrupt counsell of such as were most neere to them in conuersation and familiaritie: and this is the damage and the danger both. The profit on the other side is of no great consequence, because, through want of yeers they

they neither haue knowledge, and lesse authoritie, to doe any fauour, or rather they dare not, especially in matters of any moment, naturally a kinde of bashfulnesse ouer-ruling youth, with a reuerence vnto their elders and to their betters, that in their presence scarcely they will moue their lips, or finde their tongue: and this wee see in practise amongst yoong nephewes and yoonger brethren, but chiefly with the children themselves, and most of all, if the Prince their father be by nature seuerer and sterne.

Wherefore it followeth, that the grace of the *male kindred* of riper yeeres is truly profitable, because these by their loue (which is presupposed) ioyned with their age, know how; & by their authoritie can be benefici-
all

all and fruitfull in their fauour to the Courtier : howbeit, enuy no lesse attending on their fauor, than it awaiteth the Princes grace, it shalbe necessary to consider how this may either be elchewed, or els what armes the Courtier must put on to confront the same, that it proue not an impediment to his desseignes. But this heereafter in his fit place shall bee largelie handled.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the helpe which may be drawen from the Princes friends.

THe like profit and vse may bee hoped for and expected from the Princes friends, as from his kindred, the reasons seruing almost both alike, though these in some things may

may be thought to be preferred in others, yet they come behind, for touching affection it is most cleere that those in fauour and beloued of the kindred, especially neereſt in blud, are more reſpected then the fauourits of a friend, becauſe they incline more, and deſire the good rather of thoſe then theſe. Wherefore to haue familiarity, to bee vſed kindly and held in truſt and confidence with the *kindred*, doth much more eaſily lay open the entrance to the Princes fauor. But on the other ſide, the *friends* come neerer in equalite, than the kindred doe, eſpecially than thoſe of vnderage, whereof it followeth, that they ſpeake more confidently, and with leſſe ſecuritie are their requests and fauours denied, the which is often done with-

without anie great difficulty
 vnto the kindred. Wherefore
 the friends in these performan-
 ces are to bee preferred, as da-
 ring more, and lesse vsed to de-
 nials or repulse. Whereupon,
 their aid chiefly consists in in-
 tercession to obtaine some fa-
 uour, or to preferre into seruice:
 But in this particular you must
 obserue and beware, that these
 friends bee not the Princes e-
 quals, or in any thing, (but
 principally in quality of state,)
 Concurrents or Competitors,
 because in this case such pro-
 tection would cause the Cour-
 tier to bee suspected and mi-
 strusted of his Prince: the ex-
 ample is at hand, that no man
 who by the mediation of a Car-
 dinall is receiued into the ser-
 uice of any other of them, and
 continueth the dependancie &
 protection

Nota hoc

protection of his preferrer, shall
 ever bee in perfect confidence
 with his Lord. The reason
 heereof is grounded on the
 conformity or equality of their
 interests in the *Papacy*, which
 make them live more heedily
 and full of ielousie, so that the
 service of any man, dependant
 vpon an other cannot satisfie
 them, nor but breed great sus-
 pition; the like may be vnder-
 stood of other Princes with
 whom the fauour done for their
 sake who are either their con-
 currents or like in estate, will
 neuer bee profitable to the
 Courtier. Wherefore these
 friends must be of a degree in-
 ferieur, that is, subiects or ser-
 uitors (but not domesticall or
 assigned of his family) because
 these haue authority by his
 friendship, and depending on
 him

him as on their superiour, are
his confidents cleere of suspi-
tion.

CHAP. XXVII.

*Of the helpe that may be
drawen from the Prin-
ces servants.*

THe testimonie that a belo-
ued servant may make (for
of such an one we speake) of the
conueniency and aptnesse the
Courtier hath in seruice, may
bee of speciall helpe for his in-
duction, and thus much is com-
mon to him with the friends &
kindred of the Prince. But a
fauored servant hath yet one
commodity more, which is,
that there being many things
(as it is presupposed) belong-
ing to the Prince, committed
to his charge, he may in some
of

of them substitute the Courtier, or vse his helpe in them, whō he purposeth to aduance, and so by little and little lift him vp and set him forwards in the degrees of the Court, and by insinuation bring him into fauour, so that by the relation of his ability in seruice, and by making him partaker in his owne office and charge, I say the seruant in grace may greatly aide the new Courtier.

But to know how to compass, deserue and obtaine the helpe and protection of these fauourits, there is vse of a most exact prouidence and great discretion : because their desire to continue still in the first rancke breedeth in them a kind of ielousie and suspition, that for the most part they had rather doe contrary offices fearing

ring lest others should supplant and degrade them from their first honours, whereupon it commeth seldome to passe, that like succours are offered by any, but such as are well assured to be firmly established in their Princes favour: howbeit even these (who well considers it) cannot so quietly repose themselves, but there will still remaine a lurking corner for timidity. Wherefore they haue great reason to goe well aduised, & discreetly to worke in the preferment of any one, and our warinesse and skil must be no lesse how to auoid and ward this doubt, by assuring them, that in their fauouring vs, they need not feare any preiudice to themselves; the which may be thus, first by all meanes possible to couer and keepe

L

close,

close, the quicknesse and vivacity of the minde and spirit, for a wise man principally hath regard and feareth that, as being apt to take occasions, and by himielfe although but weakely
✓ helpt, may set vp a scaling ladder with his qualities to greater matters. Next, to make profession of eternal gratitude and dependancy on them, & by effects full of obsequious shewes openlie to testifie as much. Then not to shew so much courage as to dare adventure further then they shall lead you by the hand, or set your course by their prescription; & null the time your fauour gotten with the Prince be such, as may assure you of your proper force, the which I wish you ponder well before you come vnto the proof thereof: because if any
man

man before his time shall goe
 about to separate or withdraw
 himselfe from vnder safe pro-
 tection, and like a bird not flush
 shall take his flight, his downe-
 fall and his ruine will easily fol-
 low, for the other perceiuing
 that he hath fostred a Corriual,
 happily by the authority which
 he yet reteineth with the Prince
 may frustrate all the hopes you
 haue of further aduancement
 in that seruice; wherefore it is
 necessary that this progresse be
gnomon-shadow like, inuisible in
 his motion, and that the growth
 may then be seene, when it is
 fully growen, and of himselfe
 he may defend and vndershore
 the same, and so endeuour not
 to make his first experience, but
 as it were vpon occasion, by
 ioint commission with an other
 man, which oftentimes make

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offer

offer of themselves to those which wisely watch their times, knowing how easie a thing it is to fall into disgrace with Princes, whom, you shall neuer so sincerely serue, but either by themselves, or by the malice of some other, you shall incurre displeasure or dislike in minde, which easily may be recovered, by him who knowes to take the benefit of opportunities.

CHAP. XXVIII.

How to keepe in fauour once obtained.

Hitherto (in my opinion) we haue sufficiently declared vnto the Courtier the way and meanes how to compassse and obtaine the Princes fauour : whereof at length, supposing hee hath gotten full possession,

possession, it resteth now to
 giue instructions, how he may
 preserue and keepe it, since he
 shall gaine no lesse commodity,
 and be as much commended for
 the well preseruing it, then hee
 was by the happy procuring
 thereof, the obtaining many
 times depending vpon accident
 and chance, but the mainte-
 nance of it vpon iudgement
 and discretion, the which is so
 rarely found amongst men, that
 infinite is the number of those
 who hauing liued sometime in
 grace as *fauornites* and *Prinados*
 to their Prince, in the end come
 tumbling topsie turuy downe
 from so high a type of honour,
 whereof *Seianus* doth sufficient-
 ly giue testimony, who for long
 time not *minion*, but *master* over
Tiberius, at last closed vp the
 period of his seruice with a most

vnhappy end. *Crispus Salustius*
Tac. ann. lib. 3. a deereling also to Tiberius,
Ætate prouecta, speciem magis in
amicitia principis quam vim tenu-
it; idque Mæcenati acciderat:
 Grown in yeeres held rather a
 shew then any substance in the
 Princes fauour; the like hapned
 to Mecenas, who of all others
 was most deere to Augustus,
Ann. 3. whereof *Tacitus* rendring a rea-
 son, *fato, inquit, potentia raro sem-*
piterna, saith it is by fate decreed,
 that great fauors are seldom
 of long continuance, and heere-
 of giues the cause. *An satias ca-*
pis, aut illos, cum omnia tribue-
rint; aut hos, cum nihil reliquum
est quod cupiant; whether both
 as it were at a non-plus, either
 the Princes hauing giuen all
 they can, or the Courtiers,
 when there is nothing left, that
 they may beg.

Now

Now heerein were manie things to be considered of : as first , if handling things which are within our choice, we should referre the cause thereof to fate; or granting that, if it were convenient, to assigne a reason, as if from fate cause were given, and chiefly an elective cause, depending vpon mans arbitrement. But because these should be too far from the matter now in hand , it shall suffice to say, That the reasons by him set downe, seemé to be of no truth, or to be the least part of those which might be brought , that is , causes of the least part of those effects which commonly happen in this particular , as shall be declared , because first in my opinion, none would suffer himselfe to be perswaded , that Princes vse to banish from

their favour a favoured servant,
 because of the abundance of
 benefites bestowed on him,
 knowing, as the *Moralists* doe
 teach vs, that the benefactour
 loveth him most, to whom hee
 hath beene most bountifull, not
 recompensed by equalitie of
 loue; so that it is not only false,
 that there should grow a hatred
 in the giuer because of his great
 benefites bestowed, but the con-
 trary is most true, that by this
 action there springeth an espe-
 ciall beneuolence in the bene-
 factor towards the favourite, as
 his creature, and (as it were)
 worke of his hands, & as his te-
 stimonie of the practise of a ver-
 tuous action or deed. For if *Nature*
 herselfe brought not forth
 the effect of this loue for the
 reason alleadged, election and
 free choice doubtlesse would
 produce

produce the same, because who doth not perceiue how simple he should be, who by many benefits hauing obliged one vnto him, would voluntarily make choise to lose him? Wherefore it is not true, that *Satias capiat Principem, quod omnia tribuerit*: the Prince is at a stand, hauing giuen as much as he can.

Neither is it true also, that the *Courtier* hauing receiued so many benefits of his P.ince, that there is no more place of further expectation, should bee a cause on the Courtiers part, to make, that *potentia sint raro sem-piterna*; great fauours should be seldome euerlasting. For albe-
 it *Tacitus* in another place saith, *beneficia consq; grata sunt dum videntur exolui posse, ubi multum anteuenerè, pro gratia odium redditur*: good turnes are so far

Lib. 4.
Ann.

acceptable, as there is possibility of requital; when they grow greater, in stead of thanks, hatred is returned. Yet it proueth false in true nobilitie and grateful mindes, in whom loue and regard to benefactors groweth in true counterpoise with the grace and benefits receiued, or rather doth surpasse it: for hee who can not with effects be correspondent to the fauour done, must yet at least deuise to make some shew of an inward gratuitie, and as *wrath* is not contented to manifest the wrong in that measure it receiue it, but in desire of reuenge reteineth a farre greater scope; in like sort, ✓ that facultie wherein thankfulness and gratitude reside, doth not desire by nature (which makes vs euer strue to be more than other men) onely to giue equall

equall recompense with the benefit, but much more then what hath beene received, supplying want of outward meanes, with abundance of inward good wil: so that in loue he answereth not alone in iust proportion to his dutie, but by the foresaid reason endeouours to outstrip the same. Thus much is sayd to shew the falshood, of that reason, the which though it should be granted, the cause would easily appeare; whereby seruants sometimes euen voluntarily deprive themselves of that fauour which they reteine with Princes. But there resteth yet a doubt, how it comes to passe, that so often times the favorites fall in disgrace with their Lords: and this is that which for the most part is common, whereof the examples of *Seianus*, of *Crispus*.

Crispus Salustius, and *Mæcenus*, set downe by *Tacitus*, giue euident testimonie. Whereupon it appeareth, that in reason we can nor rest our selues vpon these causes, and that therefore it were necessary we see if there be any others yet more true and of greater consideration, which we will endeavour to discover in the processe of our discourse, saying in the meane time, that the originall of the foresayd losse may grow either from the Prince or from the Courtiers, comprehending vnder the same name as well the kindred as the Princes friends; the reasons, as it shall appeare, seruing all alike: and therefore we must aduert both what must be obserued with the Prince, and what likewise with the Courtiers, peaceably and without danger

to keepe that *favor*, which with
so great paines and industrie
hath beene procured.

CHAP. XXIX.

*What is to be observed with the
Prince for the continuing
in his favour.*

THere are three thinges
which seeme necessarie to
bee observed with the Prince;
the first is, that the favor being
obtained by diligence and satisf-
faction giuen in seruice, he per-
seuere and goe forward in the
same with the same termes. The
which thing not onely by those
of meane capacitie, but by
great Courtiers many times to
their greater detriment is neg-
lected. *Tacitus* saith of *Seianus*,
that *nimia fortuna socors factus*
est; ouer-great fortune had made
him

him negligent, a thing for two reasons very dangerous; first, the heat of your service relenting, the Princes loue cannot but grow luke-warme; next because by this meanes you giue occasion to some other more diligent and carefull to make his entry; wherefore it followeth necessarily, in no case to leaue off anie vsuall obseruances, nor at anie time to make shew of lesse seruencie in service: which is very requisite, because if the hope of fauour be the cause of a diligent and commendable service, by how much more ought the secure possession of the same, cause the continuance therein. The second aduertisement is, no more to shew, then to be in deed, an vp right and honorable man, I meane for no priuate respect to bee inticed to abuse the
the

the fauour of his lord, either by making sale thereof, by vniust oppressions, or offering violence to please the vnbridled appetites of other men and such like, to the damage and preiudice of any man, because such like actions can by no means be pleasing to the Prince, aswell for the discouerie of an euill qualitie in him that performeth them, of whom it is to be coniectured he cannot in reason bee assured: as for the wound that by so bad a friend he receaueth in his reputation, whereof how much Princes make account, or at least ought to esteeme *Tacitus* teacheth saying, *Cetera principibus statim Ann. l. 4. adesse, vnum insatiabiliter parandum prosperam sui memoriam:* Princes are in possession of all other things at their will, but
 one

one thing they must insatiablie
seeke after (that is) to leaue a
happie memorie behind them.
And more plainely in an other
place ; *Ceteris mortalibus in eo
stare consilia , quid sibi conducere
putent : Principum diuersam esse
sortem, quibus principia rerum ad
famam dirigenda :* other mens
consultations only tend to their
profit, but it falleth out other-
wise with Princes, whose actions
chiefly are to bee directed to
fame and reputation. The third
& last obseruation in this point
is, not one iot to diminish the
reuerence and duty towards the
Prince, nor because of speciall
confidence to presume to vse
familiaritie. And for certeine, I
haue bene aduertised by a most
inward fauorite of a great Prince
in *Italy*, that by this one obser-
uation hee profited much, and
that

that the same Prince vsed publicly to say, that in so manie occasions of familiaritie, he seemed still more fresh, & like one but newly entred into his service: the reason heereof is, because obsequious reuerence is at all times pleasing, as witnessing a superioritie in the person to whom it is vsed. And as affectation is to be eschewed, so to arrogate or attribute too much, can by no meanes bee pleasing to the Prince; for as before vpon other occasion wee have alledged: *Quemadmodum* *Tacit.*
peffimis principibus sine fine domi- *hist. li. 4.*
natio, ita quamuis egregys modus
libertatis placet: As a continuall rule is pleasing euen to the worst Emperours; so no lesse pleasing is a modest kinde of plainnesse, euen to the greatest men: wherefore the Courtier must

must bound himselfe within the limits of his owne condition, which he shall easily doe if hee often call to minde, that the entrance into familiarity with his Prince is granted him as a fauour, not as a due, and to the end he may vse it, not that hee should vse it; and that in many things the apparance and reputation to be able to doe or performe them, is better, then willingly to come to the actual execution of them.

CHAP. XXX.

What is to be obserued with other Courtiers, and the maner how to make them his friends.

THat part which comprehendeth his office or carriage towards other courtiers, is farre

farre more hard ; wherefore it is fit we discourse thereof more at large. First it is necessary, if it be possible, to make them our friends & confidents, or at least not to be our enemies ; the reason is, because either directly or indirectly they may doe some things, whereby our fauor with the Prince may be diminished, yea, & happely wholly diuerted aswell through the inconstancy of the minds of men, as because no man liues so void of error, that may not in some thing giue disgust vnto his lord, who many times with too great an impression receiueth that which maliciously is suggested in an others disgrace. The obtaining them to friend, is wrought, either through benefit or hope. The Courtiers may diuersly be pleased by a fauored seruant,

as

as by the ascribing much vnto them, by the preferring them into seruice, by promotion, or by the procuremēt of some fauor for them. The chiefest way of winning these mens loue, is to preferre them to be of the Princes houlholde, because by this meanes he maketh them his Creatures and dependants, of whom he may make speciall vse in his occurrences as men greatly bound vnto him, of whom wee will treat in his place, shewing what profit is drawn from such kinde of friends. But it is good to note, not to preferre men of too great parts, for these grounding their fortunes vpon their owne deserts easily forget that bond. And such are the perfect and true Noble men, the rich, and those excellent in any speciall science, arte or honorable

norable quality. Wherefore
 he must preferre such as are of
 the meane, in birth, faculty and
 quality, because the falling into
 the other extreame is as vitious,
 the reason is, for that many
 times there are some persons fa-
 uoured, who do small credit, or
 rather disgrace their preferour:
 howbeit, there bee some that
 hold it for a good rule, to re-
 ceive into their service the most
 vnaptest people, as men neither
 of bounty nor valour, that by
 this touch, their owne woorthi-
 nesse may be the better knowen,
 imitating in this point *Augu-*
stus of whom it is said: *Tiberium*
ab eo non caritate, aut reipub. curâ
successorem adscitum, sed quoni-
am arrogantiam sauitiamq; eius
introspectisset, comparatione de-
terrima sibi gloriam acquiesuisse:
Tiberius was not chosen succes-
 for

Tacit. li.
1. Ann.

for to the state by him either for affection to him, or care of the Common-wealth, but perceiving in him arrogancie and crueltie, he would by so bad and vnequal comparison, be thought the more glorious afterward: but this is not befitting in the Princes service, and for the reason alledged were dangerous. The same care must he haue in the promoting into any great charge, those who already are preferred into the household either by others, or by himselfe, or by the Princes owne choice, and aboue all things, that hee beware of men that haue spirit and life in them; for these no lesse watchfull than ready may at one time or other by their diligent obseruation watch their opportunitie so well, that they may degrade him from his first honours:

honours : and doubtlesse of all the rest this qualitie is most to be feared, because it seemes not, that a Princes fauor by any better meanes is obtained, than by this alacrity & liuelinesse, which are true signes of valor and abilitie to performe many things, which to others would seeme impossible ; wherenpon it is iustly said of these, that *excitantur ad meliora magnitudine rerum* : they are encouraged to greater matters by great imployments : wheras for the most part *hebesunt alij*, others grow blunt and dull. Wherefore the Courtier must haue speciall care to beware of such like rockes, that he may anchor free & void of danger in possession of the fauour already obtained ; aduerting further, that in his advancement of others he be not so

so prodigall in their commendations, that it be prejudiciall to his owne commoditie. But hereof more at large hereafter.

The last meanes how to benefit the Courtiers, consisteth in obtaining either for them or their friends some fauours or sutes, which he must often procure, that he may the more entirely binde them vnto him: finally al these aduertisements do presuppose an abilitie in the Courtier to receaue these fauors and benefits of his Prince; in which case for that some are found (as hath bene said) somewhat hard and vntractable towards their seruants, it is not vnecessary to consider how the Courtier may draw from the Prince, though vnwilling, those fauours hee desireth either for himselfe or his friends.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

*The meanes how to obtaine of the
Prince those fauours and grace,
which are desired.*

THe procuring of fauours
from the Prince is both
profitable and honorable vnto the
Courtier: profitable, by the be-
nefit which followeth either to
himselfe or to those for whom
he obtaineth them, who by this
meanes hee maketh much be-
holding vnto him. Honorable,
because he is accounted a fauo-
rite, who hath his Princes wil at
his dispose, and can compasse
those fauours which hee please
either for himselfe or his friends
& dependents. Wherefore when
the nature of the Prince is of
that kinde which is found in
some with great commendati-
M ons,

ons, though yet but seldome; that is, enclined to beneficence, he shall have no great need either of precepts or of arte, more then onely in shewing a modestie in his requests, that in no sort hee doe manifest the least pretention of expectation, as of dutie from the Prince, as also not to bee too frequent in these offices, and not to desire things so impertinent, that woorthely they may receaue the repulse. But when the Prince is neere or hard in granting fauours, either because he will not exceed the limits in doing good vnto his seruants, as doubting they should abandon him, or to keepe them in awe that they grow not ouer confident, or for the small esteeme hee makes of them, or finally for feare they should sell his fauours to some other,

other; in these cases arte is necessarie. Wherefore if the hand be closed, fearing to bee forsaken, it shall helpe much to shew a retentive memorie and gratitude for benefits, with a greater desire to bee serviceable after a reward than before. And certes it seemeth iust and true, that in a minde well borne and of good education and qualitie, a present reward worketh greater effects than a future hope. To conclude, to professe to runne one and the same fortune with his Prince, and to die in the service of him & his house, seemeth to be a convenient & proportionate remedie against this euill. To the second, the same modestie continued from his first entrance, even to that degree wherein the Courtier shall be found, helpeth much, not

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M 2

shew:

shewing any alteration at all, or diminution of dutie or reuerence, as before hath beene noted. But if the Prince be strict and drie-fisted in his fauors, for the small respect which naturally he hath of his seruants, the Courtier hath but a weak hope, where there is such an humour. Wherefore it is necessary either to endeouour that the Master change copie and stile in letting him see qualities of woorth, at least for the affect and aptnesse to his seruice, woorthy to be regarded, or els, this not succeeding, to answer him proportionally with the same termes of light esteeme or respect of him; yet so, if it be as doubting lest his fauors should be sold, you must obserue that rule aboue set downe, which (in fine) consisteth in setting the honour
and

and reputation of the Prince before your eies, and not to abuse the free libertie you haue obtained to dispose thereof.

But that hardnesse which groweth by nature, not enclined to liberalitie or beneficence, is hardest of all the rest to be overruled: and truly it is euident, that there bee some from whom it is impossible directly to deriue any fauour; wherefore it is fit to vse arte, and wisely to insinuate occasions and reasons for the fauours he desireth, and to attend opportunities, which are easily found by him who continually or for the most part is in presence of his Prince, faining sometime when need shall be, to haue no affect, motion or desire of the contrary, and discreetly to vse himselfe in this sinistrous course,

M 3 chiefly

chiefly when to this naturall niggardlinesse, there is any suspicion of the Courtiers fidelity adioyned. True it is, that heere of it comes to passe, that benefits are not obtained from such Masters but by length of time, and pining expectation, that there is great patience required in the servant, who in requitall heereof oweth him small duty, being more beholding to his owne artificiall cunning and dexterity, then to the good will of the Prince; howbeit, it is necessary so much as may be, to conceale this affect or motion, and to conclude all speeches with him, with a gracious conge and giuing thanks; *hic est enim finis omnium, cum dominante sermonum*, saith Tacitus: for such must bee the conclusion of all speeches with Princes. Heereof also

also it followeth that euen the Princes oftentimes receiue proportionall acknowledgments; for nature herselfe wil not suffer that any man should serue, either not allured by hope, or forced by gratuities; and who belieueth otherwise, must not marvel if many times there be occasions to complaine of seruants, since without all doubt, the Master is the rule and patterne of the quality of the seruice to those that follow him; whereupon the measure falling out scarse and couetously short on his side, vniustly should he pretend a large abundance or heaped vp liberality from his seruants. But all these difficulties are supposed not in possession of fauor, but in sleight regard, because if any one bee found interessed in his Princes

M 4 loue

loue, he cannot fall into any of the foresaid conceits, but disposeth of his fauours as it pleaseth him, yet regularly and with that modesty and wisdom, which is required of him who is to deale with a person of that quality as we presuppose the Prince to be.

But heere wee must not leaue to shew, that the Courtier may also in many other things by another way without being ouer combersome vnto the Prince, be a meanes for others of many fauours; and this consisteth in vsing the helpe of principall officers and ministers who are able in their charge or may easily finde the occasion to obtaine many fauours, or by themselves make many resolutions, whereof the prouident Courtier may make some vse, either for his owne or his friends profit and com-

commoditie, for that these officers whereof we speake being for the most part none of the Princes family, or howsoever if they were thereof, being desirous to haue any speciall protection from him, they will willingly endeavour to deserue the good will of him whom they know to bee most fauored and most deere; and this course of procuring fauour without trouble vnto the Prince, is verie commendable, being conuenient to reserue his fauor & helpe for things of greater importance: Besides this going thus retiredly and vsing the meanes of others in their proper charges, is not onely profitable, for the aboue alleaged reasons, but are as testimonie of modestie & reuerence towards his Prince: As though one could neuer ar-

rogate so much in desert by service, that confidently he might charge him with expectation of favours or rewards. But on the other side, it is necessarie to flie the other extreame; for that those who fearing to be fastidious or troublesome vnto their Prince, neuer desire any fauour of him, incurre two great errors; the first is, they lose the occasions to winne to themselves assured friends and dependents; the other is, that by these meanes they neuer get the reputation which is incident to those Courtiers, who make themselves knowen to be beloued and fauored of the Prince whom they serue.

CHAP. XXXII.

*What must be observed not to have
the Courtiers his enemies,
and to avoid ill turnes
and bad offices.*

ALthough many are by nature so austere, that neither by benefits or other merits it is possible to make them tractable or benevolent, yet are not all men of this disposition or quality; wherefore towards those which are of more civilitie and humanity, the Courtier is to abstain and beware of two things, that is, to offend them or give occasion of envie. Let vs first speak of the *offences*, as the most efficient cause of hatred, and then secondly of *envie*.

Howbeit therefore that many are the meanes whereby the
Courtier

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Courtier

Ann. 4.
lib. 4.

Courtier may giue offence, yet that of detraction and passing bad offices with the Prince to another mans detriment, seemes to bee most proper vnto him as a Courtier. This was a cunning or arte much vſed by *Seianus*, of whom *Cornelius Tacitus* hauing ſaid, that *suit audax, sui obtegens*, he was bold & a concealer of his owne desseignes: he ioineth therewithall, *in alios criminator*, a calumniator or finde-fault of others. And *Antonius Primus* purposed as much, and in effect performed no lesse against *Mutianus*, who notwithstanding with the same weapon, fortunately defended himself, inſomuch that through the great and manifold good turnes which *Antonius* had deſerued of *Vespasian*, hee easilie blotted out the memory thereof.

of. And truly since it is so, that
 no more then one at once, can
 well possesse the chiefeft place
 in the Princes fauour, it is ne-
 cessarie so much as may bee, to
 keepe others a loose off, from
 entring in, which chiefly is per-
 formed by attenuating other
 mens merits, and prouoking ei-
 ther the Princes neglect or ha-
 tred against those in particular,
 who for the neerenesse they are
 in the Princes fauour, are more
 dangerously left in that degree,
 without some molestation.
 Howsoeuer, yet this seemeth
 very absurd, that any whose
 scope is honorable reputation,
 should take so crooked and sini-
 strous a course, there being no
 so apparent a signe of any mans
 abiect baseness, nor any thing
 that more distaineth civilitie it
 selfe, then *Vnde alijs infamiam*
pariat,

pariat, inde gloriam quemquam sibi recipere : whence others get disgrace, thence any man to ground his glory or advancement, and that which more importeth, seeming to conquer in this campe, in stead of vertue & commendable valor, he procureth for his reward malice, hatred, and enuie; besides, it is very probable, that a wise and generous Prince ought not to receine into any degree of fauor, a Courtier who should be known to be apt and prone by nature and badde inclination to slander or speake euill to an others preiudice, because, *Si productores, etiam is quos anteponunt inuisi sunt*; if once traytors, then are they hatefull euen to those who make vse of them; how much more should calumniators or slanderers be odious! frō whom
the

the Prince (as such kind of men) receaueth no seruice at all, but rather a cause of disgust or dislike towards those, by whom happely he might be better serued, then by these detractors; and giueth him occasion also to doubt, lest they should arme themselues in like terms against himselve, with their malignant tooongs, in offence of his honor and reputation. And certainly though it be fit the Prince shuld *omnia scire*, and that also in his owne family; that he might the better gouerne the same, there is no doubt, but the informers therof are not very gratefull vnto him, and hatefull vnto all others of the Court, either for some offence receaued, or suspecting or fearing to receaue some, as in all likelihood they may iustly feare of persons so wickedly

*Tac. in
vit. Cor.
Agri.*

wickedly inclined. Wherefore this course is not onely not honorable, but very dangerous, & exposed to many hurts, which grow many times to that pitch, that alone they degrade not the Courtier from the Princes grace, but irrecoverable cause his utter ruine, and that chiefly because if he begin but once to falter, his owne friends conforming themselves to the rest, become his persecutors, and then with his owne overthrow, hee shall know how true it is, that

nihil rerum mortalium tam instabile ac fluxum est, quam fama potentie, non sua vi nixa; there is no mortal thing so instable and fickle as the fame of greatnesse not supported by it owne force or strength; and that he ought to haue imprinted in his memorie that other saying, *quanto quis plus*

X Tac. lib.

13. ann.

plus adeptus est, tanto se magis in lubrico existimet; how much the more a man hath heaped vp, in so much the greater instabilitie and icey-footing let him suppose himselfe. These in my opinion may well be called bad offices: from the which the wise and honorable Courtier for the reasons aboue alleaged, ought wholly to absteine.

CHAP. XXXIII.

How the Courtier is to carrie himselfe with his enemies and persecutors.

BVt because it is a naturall thing to defend our selues and to deuise how to preserue and mainetaine vs in that state of happinesse which with great labour wee haue procured, and that oftentimes it may fall out
that

wickedly inclined. Wherefore this course is not onely not honorable, but very dangerous, & exposed to many hurts, which grow many times to that pitch, that alone they degrade not the Courtier from the Princes grace, but irrecoverable cause his utter ruine, and that chiefly because if he begin but once to falter, his owne friends conforming themselves to the rest, become his persecutors, and then with his owne overthrow, hee shall know how true it is, that

nihil rerum mortalium tam instabile ac fluxum est, quam fama potentie, non sua vi nixa; there is no mortal thing so instable and fickle as the fame of greatnesse not supported by it owne force or strength; and that he ought to haue imprinted in his memorie that other saying, *quanto quis plus*

X Tac. lib.
13. ann.

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that one may be maligned, or at least may have some other accidents so neere at hand, that danger shalbe imminent to him that with some arte or skill doth not defend himselfe; it shall be fit to discourse how the Courtier is to gouerne him, betweene these two so dangerous rockes, the one of *flaunderous backebiting* and *persecution*, the other of *concurrency* and *emulation*.

First of persecution, against the which hee must first make his defence with rewards and benefits, the which are apt not only to extinguish this malignity, and to surcease that dangerous prosecution, but to change and conuert the imagination of hurt and wrong, into a more beneuolent and friendly mind. This shall bee a most profitable gaine, and so much the more com-

commendable, the lesse it shalbe
 vsed, sauing to persons in whom
 vertue in his highestt degree,
 hath wonne the regiment of a
 most perfect habit, it being na-
 turally very absurd to bee bene-
 ficiall to those who are known
 to be of a, peruerse and ill affe-
 cted minde: but because many
 times, such is the malignitie of
 men, that it cannot be appeased
 or ouercome by any benefit, it
 is necessary to take some other
 course, that is, with a resolute
 mind to make prooffe who shall
 in the end preuaile, devising
 how to extinguish or supplant
 his aduersary, not by death, but
 by expulsion, either out of
 Court or wholly out of fauour.
 And this will succeed very se-
 curely, and without any great
 labour, to him who shall be in
 such fauour as we now presup-
 pose

pole him, because he shall not
 only haue easie accesse vnto the
 Princes care, whereby he may
 haue discourse at his pleasure,
 and take occasion to do bad of-
 fices against his persecuters, but
 he shall possesse a great faction
 of friends amongst the Courti-
 ers, who may serue his turne by
giuing out, and sowing in the
 Court, yea and with the Prince
 himselfe, the like seed of report,
 whereby the traducers in the
 end shall reape the fruits answe-
 rable to their deserts. But the
 Courtier for his owne part must
 endeavour to keepe himselfe in
 the good opinion of him against
 whom hee mindes to reuenge
 himselfe, not giuing the least
 occasion or signe of bad satisfa-
 ction, and keepe himselfe the
 most wary and retired in his
 speech in all places and at all
 times

times that may be. And in sted
heereof he must haue his mini-
sters ready, by whose meanes
he may compasse his desseigned
purpose; as most easily he shall
doe, if besides this, vpon occa-
sions with the Prince, either ex-
cusing or denying the accusati-
ons spread of his aduersarie, he
shall so much the more confirm
them, by how much he shal shew
himselle the lesse interested or
malicious against him. But here
we must note, that if the perse-
cutions on the other side be o-
pen and manifest, and such as
can not be concealed, and done
as it were in disgrace; it is then
necessary, openly, and not by
close conueiance, to resist them,
for the manifestation and no-
tice that thereof may be taken,
both of his authoritie & power
to defend himselfe and offend
others,

others, when he is so resolved: whereby followeth both a *fear* and *hope* in others, which affects are the beginnings, though diversly, of friendship and confidence, because *fear* enforceth to *confidence* for the more *assurance*, & *hope* induceth *friendship* to win *profit* and *commoditie* thereby: yet howsoever, many had rather use dissimulation & close stratagems against their enemies, either for their reputation in making slight regard of wrongs, or the commendations which they procure in pardoning iniuries, or at least because by this meanes they make their enemy the lesse heedfull, wherby with the more ease they suppress him; & quo

Lib. I. *incautior deciperetur, palam laudatum*, saith *Tacitus*; and to the end he might more vnwarily be deceived,

deceiued, praised him openly. I know not to what purpose, but for certeine, this was the onely arte & sleight of Tiberius, which in particular he vsed against his nephew Germanicus, and against Seianus his favorite, who living in the fauor of Tiberius, did also practise it to the ruine and overthrow of many: and Mutianus by the selfe same oppressed his Concurrent Antonius Primus. These then are the two meanes to resist our enemies and persecuters in the Court. But if one be but of little authoritie or fauour with the Prince, and notwithstanding maligned in the obtaining thereof, there are two remedies; the first is, to humble himselfe to the detractours, seeking all the meanes to procure them to be his friends, and to make them beleue hee pretendeth

tendeth not any thing more than themselves. The other is, to be an adherent or dependent to the most potent of the court, vnder whose protection he may liue; or at least to be of the contrary faction to them, if there shall be any, as it is most vsuall and common among the Courtiers. To conclude, to shun or take away the occasion, by insinuating into their fauor, or by liuing vnder the shelter of some other, or els to resist them by the succor and force of the contrary faction.

CHAP. XXXIIII.

*How he may keepe backe his Con-
currents and Corriualls.*

BVt if the danger of being
remooued from possession
of this fauour grow from ano-
thers

thers well deseruing, whereby the Concurrents indeuor themselves to be aduanced and preferred into the loue and grace of the Prince, it should bee then necessary to take another way.

And truly, howbeit it falleth out very seldome, that any Master who hath bound and found a seruant confident vnto him, can greatly loue any other, since one and the same kinde of loue can hardly be branched and seuered into diuers subiects: notwithstanding because it may fall out, & often times it hath been scene come to passe, that Courtiers who for a time were *fauorites* and *prinados*, haue beene expulſed and lost their grace, it is necessary in such case to shew the meanes how to preserue the same. The first precept therefore

N

fore

fore is, that he endeavour by diligent service to out-strip his Concurrants in good deserts, this being the most reall & honourable way, & succeedeth also more securely, tending wholly and ending in the profit and commoditie of the Prince, from whom, as we have often sayd, proportionable favour must be attended, and expected according to the actual service done. But when this course is not thought sufficient, it is necessary as much as is possible to thrust off, and keepe backe, such Concurrants from the Princes service: vsing meanes that either very seldome or neuer there be occasion giuen, for them to insinuate, either by service or familiarity into the pleasure of his Lord or Prince: this will easily fall out, if at the first he be vigilant

lant in not permitting any man
to thrust himselfe too forwards,
because out of this time, the re-
medy will bee both hard and
dangerous. But to the perfor-
mance heereof since one alone
cannot with effect supply all
charges and offices, it is neces-
sary to bring in others depen-
dents on him, and qualified in
such sort as before hath beene
declared, so that the Prince be-
ing serued & satisfied by these,
have no cause to long after, or
desire the seruice of the others,
whose practice might happily
breed matter both of feare and
iellousie. But this not succee-
ding, I will not speake of badde
offices: since these as inhu-
mane & not fitting any woorthy
or honorable man, and also as
not being very secure, ought to
bee banished the very thoughts

of every good and Christian
Courtier:

CHAP. XXXV.

The meanes how to avoid enuy.

LEt vs now cometo that o-
ther part which is the cause
that Princes favorites are sel-
dome seene or looked on with
a fauourable eie by the rest of
the Courtiers: and that is, *Enuy*,
the which, who shall well consi-
der things antiently past, shall
finde it to haue beene the cause
of the ruine of so many, that the
testimony of examples to so
manifest a knowledge were
meere superfluous: and there-
fore with diuers sleights & arts
by the wisest Courtiers, hath e-
uer beene auoided: the which
we thinke fit in this place onely
with breuity to point at.

First

First therefore with the *En-*
nions wee must hold the same
course and rule, as with our *per-*
secutors, in endeavouring to ap-
pease them and make them our
friends with benefits and re-
wards; since so being made our
well willers, they will not greeue
at an other mans profit, as at
their owne damage, the good of
one friend being common to
all friends. Next, for that the
cause of *Envy* is an others good
& profit in possession, it shall be
wisdom to conceale it, or at
least to make as slender esteeme
thereof in apparence as may be,
not shewing himselfe arrogant
or proud therof by any meanes,
but rather, as not caring for it,
or desirous to leaue it, or to
make it common to some other:
Scianus, great Master in the
Courtiers arte, considering how

preiudiciall vnto him the con-
course of the people, and cour-
ting of him, was resolved with
Tac. lib. himselfe, *minuere sibi inuidiam,*
4. ann. *adempta saluantium turba, sub-*
latisque inanibus; To diminish
the enuy borne him, by aban-
doning the idle salutations of
the multitude, and remoouing
vaine shadowes. Words of great
consideration, but little obser-
ued, *verapotentia augere,* to en-
crease true power and authority;
and heerein consisteth the true
essentiall iudgement and worth
of the Courtier. True it is that
afterwards he considering, *assi-*
duos in domum cætus arcendo, in-
fringere potentiam, that driving
away or neglecting the conti-
nuall concourse of multitudes
that came vnto his house, hee
should weaken his authority,
no lesse then on the other side,
receptando,

receptando, facultatem criminandi
 but exhibere; entreteining them,
 he should minister matter vnto
 enuious find-faults: lastly, thus
 straightned in this difficult
 counsell; *Huc flexit, ut Tiberi-
 um ad vitam procul Romanam a-
 manis locis degendam impelleret;*
 he thus resolved, that he would
 perswade *Tiberius* to lead his
 life in some pleasant places farre
 from *Rome*. And truly as this is
 a most considerable point, so is
 it exceeding hard to finde the
 true square or roote thereof, be-
 cause that either not respecting
 or refusing some apparances, he
 may greatly crale his credit and
 reputation, which indeed is no
 other then *opinion*; and this opi-
 nion groweth of the apparence
 and shew, and not alone of be-
 ing a *favorite*, but of the know-
 ledge that is taken thereof by
 others:

others: and on the other side, from these ostentations riseth enuie, whose follower manie times is the ruine of the Courtier; wherefore it is necessarie to walke with infinite warinesse and discretion betweene these two extreames: with this particular aduertisement, not to grow too great or familiar with the Courtiers, since that, *Insta mortalibus natura*, saith *Tacitus*, it is naturall vnto euery man, *resentem aliorum felicitatem agris oculis introspicere, modumq; fortune à nullis magis exigere, quam quos in aequo videre*: to behold other mens fresh happines, with enuious eies, and to wish an indifferent or meane fortune, to none so much, as to those whom they haue knowen their equals. Wherefore *Seneca* aduising himselfe, though all too late, how much

Lib. 2.
last.

much enuy encreased vpon him
after the death of *Burrhus*; *Ta- Lib. 14.*
citus reporting, that his enuious ^{ann.}
persecutors, *Varijs cum crimi-*
nantibus adorti sunt, tanquam in-
gentes, & priuatum modum ente-
las opes adhuc angeret, quodque,
studia ciuitum in se verteret, hor-
torum quoq; amœnitate, & villa-
rum magnificentia quasi Princi-
pem supergrediretur: vpbraided
him with sundry calumniationes,
as that hee continually heaped
vp wealth in excesse, & beyond
the compasse of a priuate man,
that he wonne the hearts of the
people, and that for pleasant
gardens and magnificent state-
ly buildings, hee almost excee-
ded the Prince; colours, onely
for shadow and couerture of en-
uie: purposed to make a resig-
nation of all his fortunes and
wealth, or the greater part vnto

Nero againe ; but this imagination hauing no successe, *Instituta prioris potentie commutat, prohibet cætus saluantium, vitæ comitantes, varius per urbem, quasi moleitudine infensa, aut sapientia studijs domi attineretur* ; Hee changed the course of his first greatnesse, forbidding the multitudes which came to perform complements of curtesie, discharged his followers, shewed himselfe seldome in the citie, as though he kept home, either fearing his health, or busie at his booke and studies.

Besides all this, it serueth much to the purpose to make a shew that this fauour and grace is rather voluntarily graunted than ambitiously procured, vsing the same, as hath bene said, not onely without offence to others, but rather to the benefit
of

of others, and keeping the *decorum* of his degree and place, not with a proud disdainfulnesse, but with a sweet and graue modesty, some thing inclining to popularity. Finally, because *Envy* swaieth amongst equals, or persons at least that so thinke themselves, if any man shall endeavour himselfe so much to exceed in vertue, or otherwise by long and honourable service, should take occasion to pretend equality; without all question envy would either cease, or rather, to speake better, would never begin.

But when these observations shall not free or sufficiently defend the Courtier from this contagion, whose companion for the most part is *malitious destruction*, if shee once shew her selfe so apparently that offences doe

doe grow, we must then vse the same arte against the *Enuious*, as against the *maleuolent* and *wicked slanderer*; deuising; if it be possible, to remooue him from the Court, or wholly out of seruice; and to performe the same with the more ease, he shall doe well to remember that which a little before hath beene said, that is, howbeit the Courtier be not by himselfe to performe any badde offices, hee may passe them notwithstanding by meanes of his adherents, in case necessity binde him to maintaine his place; and therefore, not onely for this purpose, but for many other causes, it is necessary that he be well furnished of good store of friends & confidents of all sorts, that is, to the end to be enformed of all that is done or said in the Court, and that

that for diuers reasons. As first
to vnderstand what opinion is
held of him amongst the other
Courtiers, and which of his acti-
ons are either praised or reproo-
ued, making vse of such aduice
by the way of correction. Next
to distinguish of faithfull from
fained friends, because euerie
man shewes himselfe louing and
kinde to him whom they know
faouored of the Prince, though
it may be, really & indeed, they
are the contrary; a thing by
meanes of these confidents easi-
ly discovered: since they are
conuersant, he vnderstand and
obserue all that passeth in the
Court, chiefly entertaining some
who shall carry small apparence
of being inward with him; for
that vnto such, as not esteemed
of any great credit, or partialists
to the faouored Courtier, they
will

will easily vnmaske, and reueale
the very inwards of their harts:
or else themselves being dex-
trous & cunning in this kind as
men of good vnderstanding, can
by an inckling easily coniecture
the rest. And lastly, to know
what is done, yea or thought
by these malicious enuiers even
in their private living, because
none liueth without sinne, it
will be easie to finde matter to
reproue their bolde malicious
slanders with the knowledge of
their owne actions; and being
willing to hurt them that shall
goe about to offend or wrong
him, hee may easilie by
these meanes effect
and bring it to
passe.

CHAP. XXXVI.

*What the Courtier is to doe wha
shall finde himfelfe slenderly
respected of his Prince
or Lord.*

THus much, in my opinion,
may be said for the Courti-
ers good aduertisement: if any
other imagin he can more aptly
and with better method, and
in conclusion with more com-
mendations handle this arte, he
should do great wrong to ciuill
societie, and to the duty which
euery man oweth, (to labour
what in him is for the common
benefit) to defraud the world
from participating of his so
good thoughts and abilities. In
the meane time, if any man
happely guided by the rules &
precepts here set downe, lanch-
ing foorth into the dangerous
maine

maine & current of the Court,
shall rather suffer shipwracke,
than safely furdle vp his sailes
in the desired haven. Me thinks
without sinistrously iudging of
this doctrine learned by him, he
should call to mind, that among
arts, there are some which are
called *Coniecturall*; and the rea-
son is, because albeit their teach-
ing or instructing part propo-
seth a certeine known end or
scope, from the which there may
demonstratiuely bee deduced
certeine conclusions, the which
wil make the context of the do-
ctrine both apparent and neces-
sary, so farre forth as the nature
of things to be acted will giue
leau or suffer; wherein the wi-
sest are of opinion, that it is not
possible to frame perfect de-
monstrations. Notwithstand-
ing, the actiue part doth never
of

of necessitie performe the purposed end, although it perform all the actions so much as can be desired, proportionall and correspondent to the same. For so we see an excellent & famous Captain, who in euery part hath performed the dutie of his proper charge, yet his hope of victorie may faile him, and not sort as hee desired. So likewise without errour of arte, the most expert Mariner many times loseth himselfe and the ship hee failes in. Nor lesse vnluckie sometimes the Physitian ministreth his drugges to the sicke patient without hope of helpe. Nor many times can the aptest and most artificiall Rhetorician remoue a settled minde from a purposed resolution. To leaue to speake of many such like arts, the which not by necessitie, but
con-

contingently, and as it were by fortune or chance, obtaine their desired ends, the *Courtiers arte* being amongst them, the precepts thereof may worke no lesse erroneously than those of other arts called *Coniecturall*. Wherefore, if after the obseruance of the aboue noted aduertisements, that fauor or grace shall not bee obtained, or that which is much worse, if by any accident it shuld be lost, so that assuredly there were discovered small satisfaction in the Prince; it resteth, that for the full accomplishment & perfecting of this worke, we should set downe in this case what wee thinke considerable and necessarie therein for the Courtiers benefit.

And questionlesse there cannot be a greater torment to the hart of him that serueth, then to see

see him selfe slightly regarded or beloued of his Lord, and this accident particularly worketh greatest effects in those who haue not their mindes armed with naturall magnanimity, or vertuous education, but are rather of a disdainfull spirit, not able to endure the conforming of their affections, to the prescript rule or square of an other mans opinion, will or direction, especially in the maner of his liuing either in peaceable quietnesse, or vnquiet businesse: whereupon it followeth many times, the resolutions of such men in these cases are verie strange and vnconsiderate.

Wherefore in this so doubtfull a passage to conduct him forth by the guidance of wise and fruitfull counsell, we first say, that as in bodily sicknesses,
the

the cause knowen, remedies for the cure therof are easily applied : so must the Courtier, so much as in him is, diligently seeke out the occasion that moueth his Prince or Lord to bee angry or not well disposed towards him, to the end either by himselfe, or by meanes of some other to moue him therein : yet so, that it fall not within the prejudice of his principal designes, as before hath beene handled, because then it should be better to leaue the seruice, by crauing licence to depart. But because it is a saying, *Che piaga, per allentar d'arco non sana*; That the unbending of the bow is no healing of the wound : so is it not enough many times to remoue the cause of this displeasure, for the minde notwithstanding remains still exulcerate and greeued.

ued. It is necessary therefore not onely to remooue the cause of this anger, but to proceed in the obseruance of those aduertisements which the Rhetoricians teach for the lenefying and appeasing of minds once moued, as *humiliation, acknowledging of the error, accusing himselfe, craning pardon, offering himselfe readie to all satisfaction:* and continuing with all patience in these courses, hee may make it apparent how much he valueth the fauor & loue of his Prince, with the sorrow hee sustaineth for his displeasure: for this anger growing of an offence, which containeth a neglect by these foresaid demonstrations, such a counterpoise may bee made in opinion to be thought despised and disgraced, that in the end it may bring the Prince
to

to put on a more gentle and pacified minde towards the Courtier: so that this offence and cause of badde satisfaction, have not taken such roote, that it prooue rather a hatred then a dislike; because that in such case as to a more greivous maladie, a more potent medicine is necessarie; the which manie times the Courtier by no means of obsequious diligence shal be able to finde; whereupon hee must haue recourse to the helpe of intercession and mediation by some others, as the Princes kindred, his friends, and other Courtiers in greatest fauour.

But if none of these courses can stay the wrath nor appease the same, so that the hope of recouerie of fauour be wholly extinct, the *End* and *Scope* of his seruice being taken away: it necessarily

cessarily followeth, that the society also betweene the Prince and the Courtier should be dissolved by his abandoning and leauing of the seruice. This resolution must bee taken but vpon vrgent necessitie, for that otherwise it would come seldom to passe, but that the *Courtier* should incur great detriment, either by opinion of some speciall want in him, and chiefly in those that haue liued in greatest fauour; or of some rash presumption, as supposing nothing can coequall his deserts; or of an inconstancie of nature which will neuer continue long in one course; or finally, by the losse of a Princes protection, besides his time, & it may be, the flower of his age vainely spent, and to small purpose; things all of them of speciall

ciall regard and estimation. But
 when the case is desperate, it
 shall bee better to bestow the
 remnant of his life, in some o-
 ther service or imploiment, then
 vnfruitfully to serue, where he
 may sooner expect a sudden
 discharge, than hope to com-
 plesse any of those *Ends*, which
 the *King* serueth in Court
 to doe ayme at and
 propound.

27 JU 50

F. I. N. I. S.

